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OF THE

ROYAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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of his Mas.ties Armee the 2 July 1644.

A Prince Rupert's Reg.mt of foote,
B Lord Biron Regem.t of foote
C Lord Biron Reg.mt of Horse
D Coll: Hurry
E S.r Will: Vaugham
F Coll: Trevor
G Prince Rupert Reg.mt of Horse,
H Coll: Waring
Y S.r Tho: Tilsly.
K Coll Broughton
L Coll: Ernly: and Gibson
M Coll Tillyer
N Coll: Fritzwills Reg.mt
O Coll: Ayers Reg.mt
P S.r Charles Lucas Brigade
Q Coll: Carnaby
R Coll Chisnall
S
T Coll Cheatee
V S.r Richard Dackers Brigade,
X S.r Will: Blakestons Brigade
Z Devisons of me Lord Niewcastles foot, from Yorck
1 Mr. Porters troupe
2 Prince Rupert troupe
3 S.r Ed: Wedrigtons Brigade,
4 Coll: Leveson
5 Coll: Tilsly
6 Lord Moulinax
7 Coll: Tucker

His Mas.tie

Left Wing 1100 horse and 500 musq.ers

200 Horse

800 Horse the Reserve,
Comanded by S.r Richers Dackers

TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

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New Series.

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ILLUSTRATION

PLAN OF THE BATTLE OF MARSTON MOOR . . . *Frontispiece*

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TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

ROYAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

By the Right Honble. Sir MOUNTSTUART E. GRANT DUFF, G.C.S.I., President

Last year, in pursuance of my plan of inquiring how far the modern statesman could obtain assistance from certain of the more famous writers of antiquity, I submitted to you some observations upon Polybius, an author who, thanks to various accidental circumstances and to his unattractive style, has hardly had justice done to him, in these our days, and you will probably not think it unnatural if I speak to-day of Cicero, who was in some sort a pupil of the Achæan warrior, statesman and historian.

May we say then that Cicero has given or can give assistance to the modern statesman and if so how?

Were I to pursue the method which I have pursued on previous occasions, it would be to the Republic and to the Laws that I should first turn to look for remarks susceptible of application to modern circumstances; but the search would not be a very fruitful one.

No one is more unfairly represented than Cicero by short extracts. Take for instance such a work as the Abbé d'Olivet's *Pensées de Cicéron* or Wuestemann's excellent *Promptuarium Sententiarium* and we shall be very apt to say that the great

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philosopher and orator dealt all too much in copy-book Morality—perhaps he did; but sentiments of that unimpeachable, yet by no means striking kind, fall on the ear with much better effect when they are recommended by their Author's fluent and gliding style. No mortal was ever less Tacitean.

Compare the words in the Second Chapter of the Third Book of the De Oratore on the death of Crassus:

'O! fallacem hominum spem, fragilemque fortunam, et inanes nostras contentiones, quae in medio spatio saepe franguntur et corruunt, et ante in ipso cursu obruuntur quam portum conspicere potuerunt' with the words of Burke in his speech declining the Bristol election: 'What shadows we are and what shadows we pursue!' The Modern said all that is to be said and said it better.

He who would find in the works of Cicero a tithe of the political maxims which Chesterfield collected from the writings of the Cardinal de Retz would have to search very long and very carefully. The divine would search with much better results, for the works of Cicero contain a great deal of matter which is now the common property of the churches and which, thanks not a little to Cicero himself, occupies a considerable space in their teaching. He spake truly who said: 'Greece and Rome built up Christianity but in doing so they built themselves bankrupt.'

If then we are not to look to Cicero for:

> Thoughts so condensed in diction so complete
> They pass as proverbs nations still repeat.

what are we to look for? Is it for an original system of political philosophy? If such a system is to be found anywhere in his writings, it is in the Republic. Time has not dealt kindly with that treatise. Enough of it survives nevertheless to enable us to pronounce decisively not indeed on its historical but upon its philosophical value.

The late Master of Balliol, a good judge, was not very amiable to it.

'The classical writing' he says 'which approaches most

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nearly to the Republic of Plato is the "De Republica" of Cicero; but neither in this nor in any other of his dialogues does he rival the art of Plato. The manners are clumsy and inferior; the hand of the rhetorician is apparent at every turn.'

It may be doubted whether this is not put too strongly. There is a superstition, and it is one to which M. Victor Cousin lent his powerful aid, to the effect that the good society of Athens conversed as do the personages in Plato's dialogues. I do not believe a word of it and am persuaded that, if that distinguished philosopher (or shall I say sophist?) had found himself at a party on the banks of the Ilissus, he would have been as much disenchanted as was a famous countryman of his, who after dining with a number of English Statesmen plaintively remarked, 'They talked of cookery and the news of the day but did not say one word about the British Constitution.'

The Master of Balliol went on to say that 'whether the dialogues of Cicero were framed on the model of the lost dialogues of Aristotle, as he himself tells us, or of Plato, to which they bear many superficial resemblances, he is still the Roman orator; he is not conversing, but making speeches, and is never able to mould the intractable Latin to the grace and ease of the Greek Platonic dialogue. But if he is defective in form, much more is he inferior to the Greek in matter; he nowhere in his philosophical writings leaves upon our minds the impression of an original thinker.'

This last remark is assuredly well-founded. Cicero, in his capacity of philosopher, was nothing more than a *vulgarisateur*, not but that a *vulgarisateur* is a most useful person, and, in this particular case, it may be doubted whether, without him, Greek philosophy would have had anything like the effect it had on the modern world. The late Master of Balliol himself writing at the end of his life to Mr. Strachan-Davidson the author of an excellent book on the Roman statesman observed 'Remember that mankind owes a great debt to Cicero.'

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M. Barthélemy St. Hilaire ranks him among the four ancient writers who have contributed most to political thought along with Plato, Aristotle and Polybius.

That writer, true to the principles of the school in which he was brought up, treats the Declaration of the Rights of Man as the final outcome of political sagacity but considers that it was only the crown of an edifice slowly built up, to some extent by the labour of politicians, to a much greater extent by those of legislators but above all by those of philosophers. Amongst the last he gives the foremost place to Plato. He it was who first proclaimed that justice must be the foundation of the state, the common bond of all citizenship. He it was who first declared that the Governors must govern not in their own interests but in that of the community, pointed out that a mixed form of Government was the only one which promised durability, that education was a paramount function of Government and that both men and women have duties and rights with direct reference to the Commonwealth. All this is quite true and it would be most unjust not to give to the Athenian sage a great amount of credit; but the very fact that he was so right and converted the world to many of his views makes the long-drawn out ratiocination and fantastic theories of the Republic intolerably wearisome to men who are looking for practical guidance. They feel inclined to say, like Robert Hall when listening to a discourse by Dr. Chalmers, 'Quite right, quite right, go on to the next, go on to the next.'

That does not imply that Plato's famous treatise did not do its work. It was not written for the modern reader and those whom we venerate as the Masters of Ancient Wisdom would be the first to condemn the pedants who attach an undue amount of importance to the work which they did. All who think of politics now think, so to speak, to a great extent, along the lines which Plato laid down. Cicero did so most emphatically but there is one considerable difference between him and his master. Plato's Republic was a sort of Cloud Castle. Cicero's has a solid basis in the no

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doubt more or less idealised Roman Constitution, as it was not very long before his own day. Much of what he has to say about it came from Polybius, so that he was, in some sort, a joint product of a man of thought and a man of action ; but although he learnt a great deal from 'Polybius noster' as he calls him, his Master could not give him his shrewd political intelligence. Polybius foresaw that the Constitution of Rome, which he so much admired, was not destined to eternal duration while Cicero tried to cheat himself into the belief that it might be resuscitated when Destiny had already said : 'Gone is gone, Dead is dead.'

What then was the thought, if I may use the expression, at the back of Cicero's mind when he considered forms of Government? He was a partisan of that polity which, for several generations before our own days, seemed the best to most thinking men, which may well seem to all of them, as it still does to a great many, to be the best, if the gigantic democratic experiment being made on the other side of the Atlantic and which appeared, for a few years, to be so successful, comes to a bad end.

Cicero's view is extremely well set forth in M. Gaston Boissier's book on him and his friends. The passage is too long to quote but is well worth turning to. Cicero's ideal was the Roman Constitution as it was before the days of the Gracchi, seen through the dimness of history and looking more beautiful than it would have done to a contemporary observer of equal intelligence. M. Boissier well remarks that if Cicero could have chosen a period in which to live he would have chosen that of Scipio and Laelius. The last named was no doubt the personage whom he most desired to resemble, to emulate and to imitate, for in him united a high political position, a love of literature, power of eloquence and some military success—all of them things which Cicero greatly valued and the advantages of which he would fain have enjoyed in a free and orderly state. 'Dîs aliter visum!'

If Cicero had been a better politician he would perhaps

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not have placed his ideal so high. He would have seen that the steering gear would not work and that the only question was how the ship could be run ashore with least danger to life, limb and property. How few however even of the best and wisest statesmen have realised their ideals, if those ideals were higher than the mere achievement of personal success, the fending off some mischief that might have occurred, had the helm been in less steady hands, or under favourable circumstances, the 'improving things a little without dreaming of a Republic of Plato,' to use the happy phrase of Marcus Aurelius.

Joubert gave perhaps the most sane definition or description of a statesman to which it would be easy to point, in these words: 'L'homme d'Etat est un messager à qui le temps présent est remis en dépôt, pour être rendu, tel qu'il est ou meilleur, au temps à venir.' The man who does not expect to do much more than that, does not make any very gigantic demand upon the fates and the destinies. Yet how seldom is even that measure of success attained! Take some of the most eminent statesmen who have lived in these times. Several of them, whose names will readily occur to all my hearers, have spent one half of their lives in obliterating the doings of the other half. Of our contemporaries, Cavour was no doubt the man who came nearest to giving reality to his own ideal. He fell however on the course ere the goal was reached and just before he died, vexed by an outbreak of Garibaldian folly, he said to a friend who repeated the phrase to my informant, 'They will kill me—it is really *too* much ingratitude.'

Of course the first merit of a statesman in all times and circumstances is aptness to be right, that glorified common-sense which is the highest wisdom and which enables its possessor always to see what is the proper course to steer. Unhappily however the world is so constituted that that power is rarely sufficient—sufficient only for those who are born to great and undisputed positions. It would be sufficient no doubt for an Emperor of Russia; but assuredly it would

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not be sufficient for anyone whose lot was cast in such a country as England. Here the statesman, whatever may be the advantages of his birth and connections, has at best only a start of a few years. He must fight long and hard for the power to be able to give effect to his aptness to be right, and in the process of fighting he is very likely to lose a good deal of the clear-sightedness with which he started. He must, if he is to be really a great force, have a large amount of popular power, that is to say to put it plainly, he must have in him not a little of the stuff which makes those

> Madmen who have made men mad
> By their contagion.

Byron was quite right when he enumerated in that class:

> Conquerors and Kings
> Founders of Sects and Systems to whom add
> Sophists, Bards, Statesmen, all unquiet things
> Which stir too deeply the soul's secret springs
> And are themselves the fools to those they fool.

Many who bear the name of Statesmen have certainly belonged to it.

Cicero could not be to the modern statesman an example of aptness to be right, for apt to be right he assuredly was not, but he could give to him an example of what can be done by the kind of popular power I have alluded to. More than once during his career it stood him in good stead. It was his possession of this power, more than any of his other qualities, which took him to so high a place in the second rank of the politicians of his time but his want of aptness to be right condemned him never to get further than that. It was much that he got so far.

The very highest praise that can be given to an orator is first, I suppose that he succeeds in the immediate object which he has in view, that his words result in action. Secondly, that from time to time he says things which are never forgotten. Cicero stands the first test well. His orations,

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whether forensic or political, very frequently succeeded in their immediate object. He bears the second test less well. 'Ampliare rem ornando,' to use his own phrase, has its merits but it may be said of him as the greatest of critics has said of Massillon that he reminds us of the

'Cours tranquille du fleuve français, de la royale Seine baignant les rives de plus en plus élargies d'une Normandie florissante.'

And again:

'Il plaira à ceux qui n'ont pas les impatiences d'un goût trop superbe ou trop délicat, ni les promptes fièvres des admirations ardentes; qui n'ont point surtout la soif de la surprise ni de la découverte.'

I confess that I am one of those who have, in the matter of oratory, the 'soif de la surprise.' I like those orators who say things one does not expect and never forgets. Still I am sure, after long experience of public assemblies, that that is not what most people like nor what is really effective. How high as an orator on the Conservative side stood the late Lord Cairns, yet I thoroughly sympathised with Sir John Macdonald the Canadian Premier, who, after we had been listening together to one of that eminent person's great speeches in the House of Lords, remarked to me 'I think he might have hired a good deal of it out.' On the Liberal side how great a reputation as an Orator had Lord Selborne not only at the Bar but in the House of Commons. I have known that body listen to him, and that when he was discussing matters of no real importance, with the rapt attention with which it might have received the announcement that all efforts to maintain peace had been in vain and that we were about to find ourselves at war with a great European power.

Yet assuredly any man might have listened to him through half a lifetime without having the 'soif de la surprise' gratified in the slightest degree. What people like in the House of Commons and in a great many other places is hearing their own ideas echoed by a speaker in language about five or say seven and a half per cent. better

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than they could have used themselves and echoed just at the right time, just when they want to listen to them and to feel how much is to be said for their own way of thinking.

If we compare the speeches of Cicero with the speeches of the greatest orator of our own days, the Spaniard Emilio Castelar, we shall find two great differences. In the warp and woof of his style, the Ancient has the whole advantage. Castelar has all the faults of what would have been described in Cicero's time as the Asiatic style and has these faults in their extremest form ; but in reading his speeches, (I have never had the good fortune to listen to them) the 'soif de la surprise' is gratified to the uttermost. His speeches bristle with things which are not expected and which, once read, can never be forgotten. He resembles in this respect his countryman Lucan, a native of Andalusia as Castelar was of Murcia.

Cicero owed the whole of his importance as a statesman to his oratorical powers. So did Castelar and the success of the second was even more wonderful than that of the first. It was in 1854 when he was just twenty-two that he made, at the Teatro del Oriente in Madrid, his first political speech. In nineteen years from that time he was Dictator of Spain without ever having been connected directly or indirectly with an act of violence, but simply by the sheer force of the written and spoken word. So much cannot be said for Cicero. He started from a higher social level and he never reached so high a position in the State, nor for that matter did any other man, by the same means, with the possible exception of M. Thiers, who was however immensely helped, as Castelar never was, by marrying a very rich woman.

Of the writings of Cicero, as of the works of many ancient authors, the saying of Renan is true: 'He reads badly who reads on his knees.' I do not for one believe that any good judge, who has been privileged to hear the best speeches that have been delivered in our own days would, if he had heard Cicero either in the Forum or the Senate House, have been able to put his hand on his heart and say 'the old is

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better.' I do not believe that anyone who had heard Bright address 4,000 people, Gladstone reply in the House of Commons at twelve o'clock at night, or the Duke of Argyll open a debate in the House of Lords at five o'clock in the afternoon, with the galleries filled by an eager and expectant crowd, would have preferred to their performances any speech of the Great Master whose name has become synonymous with eloquence. His glory lies in having been well nigh 2,000 years before them, in having invented the very instrument which they used to such splendid effect, for nothing can be truer than the remark made by Mr. Mackail in what I should describe as his masterly chapter on Cicero, if the use of the phrase might not be interpreted to mean that I did not think almost everything in his book on *Latin Literature* to be masterly, that the prose which we all write or attempt to write, was really the invention of Cicero. The prose of modern Europe does not descend from the prose of any Greek author but from him. The modern statesman, in a country living under representative institutions, is in this way necessarily and invariably a pupil of the illustrious Roman.

Next to furnishing him with an absolutely indispensable instrument, Cicero's greatest service to the modern statesman has been the quite involuntary one of being the first of the species. The statesmen of Greece are to us at the best mere shadows. We know a little about their work but of themselves next to nothing, and their work was really so different from that of our contemporaries that it is very difficult to realise what it was like in the doing. We piece out, under the guidance of this or that able man, a sort of notion of Pericles; but I do not know that the whole, for example, of Mr. Evelyn Abbott's very good book about him gives us a clearer idea of the man than is to be found in Emanuel Geibel's fine poem containing his imaginary reflections in the hour of death.

With Cicero it is entirely different. We know him, thanks chiefly to his letters and judge him as if he were a modern,

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in fact we know a vast deal more about him than we do about some of the modern statesmen with regard to whom we are supposed to know a great deal. In a variety of ways he was built so to speak on the very lines on which a wise English father would wish to build a son whom he intended for public life. He obtained early a perfect mastery over his own language. He knew if not all the best that men had said or written before his own times (for he knew nothing of Syria or the further East) yet as much or more than was known to any inhabitant of Italy or, for that matter, of Greece either. He had gone through a good legal training, had been called as we should say to the Bar and practised at it with success, had travelled widely with the definite purpose of improving himself in his art, making not a mere journey of pleasure but what the Germans would call a *wissenschaftliche Reise*. He had risen through various grades of the official hierarchy, had lived much in the most intelligent society of the Capital, had had one great opportunity of doing service to the State of which he availed himself to the uttermost, had known popularity and unpopularity at home and the drawbacks as well as the advantages of being a beneficent despot at the far end of the Empire. Of his behaviour in all these widely different circumstances we have full accounts and, over and above, we have, at even too great length, his reflections on politics, on political philosophy, and on the borderland where philosophy, science and religion meet. Whatever may have to be said about his personality, that man must be strangely constituted who would not say that this is the kind of Statesman he would like his son to be.

There has been a good deal of talk of late as to how far the pursuits of the man of Science and of the Statesman are compatible. I confess I cannot see, what some have thought they saw, a radical divergence between the mental processes of the two classes. The simple fact seems to be, that, unless in the case of men of quite phenomenal mental power, men of the order of Leonardo da Vinci, it is quite impossible that the same person, in a large modern State, could find time to

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become eminent in both capacities. A Statesman ought to know, and, when our system of education has become rational, will know, as a matter of information, the broad general results at which men of science have arrived. That will prevent him from writing or talking absolute nonsense, will disincline him for example to discuss with the foremost *savant* of his time this or that old-world legend. But to imagine that the modern statesman, who is invariably overworked, can possibly keep himself acquainted with anything but the most general results of the work of the man of Science, is to dream a vain dream. If he knows just enough to make him sensitive to the application of any new development of Science, to the prosperity and well-ordering of the business he has to carry forward, it is enough.

The Science of Cicero's time was of little value, but such as it was he did not entirely neglect it. Although he came into the world nineteen hundred years before a certain modern orator who said that he had been born in the pre-scientific age, he was not wholly destitute of interest in natural phenomena. Turn to the discussion about the parhelion in the ninth and following chapters of the 'Republic,' with the remarks which follow upon eclipses, culminating in the very striking words put into the mouth of Tubero, and the quotation from Cato, so often repeated down to the days of Copleston and Newman:

Nunquam minus solus quam cum solus.

The Science at the command of the Roman orator did not amount perhaps to very much, but at the same time any modern statesman who had an acquaintance with the facts of the universe, as now ascertained, at all proportionate to that which Cicero possessed of the Science of his time, would know a great deal, quite enough to prevent his falling into very grave errors.

If the life of Cicero does no more for the modern statesman than to emphasise the importance of his being upon an intellectual level with the best of his contemporaries, it will

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do a good deal for him. It was only his great intellectual equipment which enabled Cicero, in spite of the numerous defects and weaknesses of his character, to play the considerable part which he did amidst the clash of arms and the fall of States.

Many circumstances are giving at this moment increased importance to Municipal life in this country and every sensible man should rejoice that this is so; but to take a further step and to say that a seat even in a large Municipality is as much worth having as a seat in the House of Commons is what I, for one, could not do. Still less could I maintain, as some have done, that Municipal work is the best training for a statesman. A little insight into it no doubt would be good for most men and every now and then there is an opening in our higher public life for a man whose training has been purely Municipal, but for most English statesmen, far the most desirable training is first to be placed by education on a level with the best intelligence of the rising generation in their own country, then to travel widely, giving much more attention than is usually done to the literature and affairs of the European Continent, often now-a-days too much neglected for bird's-eye views of the Colonies, America and India. That done the man who aspires to take an active part in the Government of the Empire should concentrate himself as much as possible on studying all its conditions. If accident enables him to do some practical work in a Municipal Assembly great or small, at the same time, so much the better, but details of that kind must not be allowed to interfere with his study of larger and more important things.

The good old orthodox view of Cicero is well summed up in an excellent though forgotten book published in 1825 called 'Classical Disquisitions and Curiosities.' 'If' says its author Dr. Malkin 'we wish to see the greatest lawyer that ever lived, we must look at Cicero in the Forum: if the most prompt and the bravest of chief magistrates in times of imminent danger, we must note Cicero in his Consulship and study well the Conspiracy of Catiline: would we know who

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was the most just and the deepest thinker, most nearly approximating to the philosophy of Christianity in the Gentile world, we must read Cicero's opinions on the immortality of the Soul and on a future state.' Exaggerated praise of that kind led quite naturally to exaggerated depreciation, more especially in Germany.

That Mommsen is a great historian no one will deny. His knowledge is stupendous and his power of imparting liveliness to his narrative by writing of long dead ages with the passion of a contemporary, is a great though a dangerous gift. His chapter on Sulla is in its way a masterpiece while his close-packed and venomous pages about Cicero almost deserve to be similarly characterised. Still he will not persuade the world to think better of the one or worse of the other than Byron did when he wrote Childe Harold. It will continue to remember the great Dictator with some kindness on account of the 'atoning smile' with which he laid down his tremendous powers and to think of Servius Sulpicius as:

> The Roman friend of Rome's least mortal mind
> The friend of Tully.

Mommsen, of all people, should not have paid so little attention as he has done to the words of Julius Cæsar who speaking of Cicero said: 'his triumph and his laurel wreath are so far nobler than those of warriors, as it is a greater achievement to extend the bounds of Roman intellect, than the dominion of the Roman people,' even if he could not have made up his mind to go so far as Augustus.

When I began in 1893 the series of Addresses of which this is the last, I mentioned that the idea of inquiring how far the modern statesman could be directly helped by the study of some of the great writers of antiquity, had been suggested by a conversation with the late Lord Sherbrooke while we sat together in the House of Commons. I have been led in consequence to examine with some care Thucydides, Herodotus, the Politics of Aristotle, Polybius, Cicero, and to give some side glances also to the Republic

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of Plato. On the whole I think that I have found less than I expected which seemed to be directly helpful.

Sainte-Beuve in a passage I like to quote, for I am sure it is prophetic, said 'I fear that sooner or later the Ancients will lose the battle or at least part of the battle.' The regiments which will have to give way will be I think those which fly the standard of philosophy, those commanded by the writers who most properly desired to instruct their own contemporaries and have without any fault of their own been permitted to be the instructors or misleaders of posterity. The regiments which will not be defeated will be those which fly the standard of beauty, those of whose way of saying things we think at least as much as of what they say.

Renan's 'Prière sur l'Acropole' contains much truth but it is an enthusiastic utterance, not meant, like a good deal else which its illustrious author wrote, to be taken all too seriously. The real glory of Greece is the short but as yet unequalled outburst of genius which followed the Persian wars. The real glory of Rome was her law, towards whose evolution things were gradually converging through all that portion of her history to which the attention of our youth is too much devoted, but Rome also added her contribution to the things of beauty which the human mind will never let die.

It was to these much more than to the philosophy political or other, to be found in either language, that the attention especially of the young should be devoted. If it be desirable that the intelligence of those who can have all the chances, and mean to play at the gold table of life, should be brought in contact with the best things that men have said, it stands to reason, human faculties being limited, that every age must omit something which its predecessor held to be valuable. The Renaissance was perfectly right to cherish many things which ought now to be put aside because the slow progress of the years has given us something better.

Things of pure loveliness, things which we contemplate merely for the delight they give or things which we contem-

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plate for the pleasure and stimulus which we derive from the presence of concentrated power, these are the real gains to be obtained from the study of the classics and the sooner that is recognised by those who direct our education the better it will be. When it is once grasped it will involve two things—the handing over to the exclusive study of specialists many things which we now read and the deferring of classical studies until a period of life when the literary taste has been awakened. That Byron, of all human beings, should in mature life have expressed nothing but loathing for Horace, is the *reductio ad absurdum* of the system which has tyrannised over the minds of men in Western Europe ever since the fall of Constantinople.

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MARSTON MOOR

BY C. H. FIRTH, M.A.

Read November 18

THE present paper is not an attempt to write a narrative of the battle of Marston Moor, but an attempt to solve certain questions connected with its history, and to state the evidence concerning them. I propose, therefore, to discuss in detail the four following subjects: The numbers and the composition of the Royalist and Parliamentary armies; the order in which the forces composing the two armies were drawn up on the battlefield; the tactics of Cromwell and the cavalry under his command during the battle; the nature and value of the authorities for the history of the battle. This investigation has led me to reject a view which is adopted in all modern accounts of the battle, and had been hitherto accepted by myself. The received view is that the infantry of the Parliamentary right wing was entirely routed, while a portion of the centre stood firm. The conclusion which a reconsideration of the evidence obliges me to adopt in this paper is exactly the opposite. The Parliamentary centre was entirely routed, but a portion of the infantry of the right wing held their ground until the cavalry and infantry of the left wing came to their relief, and turned a defeat into a victory.

I

The Numbers and Composition of the Royalist and Parliamentary Armies

In a criticism of Mr. Gardiner's 'History of the Civil War,' published by Colonel Ross in the 'English Historical Review' for 1890, the reviewer regretted that Mr. Gardiner had not

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more closely examined the question of the numbers engaged at Marston.[1] Colonel Ross's own conclusion is that there was a great disparity between the forces of the Royalists and the Parliamentarians. 'The totals,' he says, 'seem to have been about 17,000 or 18,000 Cavaliers and 26,000 or 27,000 Roundheads.'

A short examination of the component parts of the two armies seems to me to bear out the conclusion arrived at by Colonel Ross. The Royalist army at Marston Moor was made up of three different parts—(1) the army with which Rupert set out from Shrewsbury and entered Lancashire; (2) the army with which General Goring joined him during his march from Lancashire into Yorkshire; (3) the army under the Marquis of Newcastle besieged in York.

Prince Rupert set out from Shrewsbury about May 16, and entered Lancashire, according to a Royalist narrative of his march, with 2,000 horse and 6,000 foot.[2] His infantry included his own regiment of foot (blue?), which had marched from Bristol to join him;[3] the remains of the Irish foot defeated by Fairfax at Nantwich, consisting of the three regiments of Colonels Erneley, Gibson, and Warren, numbering about 1,000 men;[4] the regiments of Colonels Broughton and Tillier (green coats), whom Ormond had sent over from Ireland in January, numbering at least another 1,000 men;[5] Lord

[1] April 1890, p. 385.

[2] See the narrative of Prince Rupert's march printed in the Appendix to this paper, p. 53. A letter from Arthur Trevor to Ormond, dated April 13, 1644, says that the Prince had then at Shrewsbury 5,000 foot and 3,000 horse (Carte's *Life of Ormond*, vi. 87). Conflicting accounts of his numbers are given in Parliamentary reports. The usual estimate was 8,000 or 10,000 men, and they were said to be mostly horse (*Cal. State Papers*, Dom. 1644, pp. 187, 188, 192; Rushworth, v. 623; *Lancashire Civil War Tracts*, Chetham Society, p. 187).

[3] *Report on the Duke of Portland's MSS.*, i. 170. Rupert's regiment was apparently the blue regiment mentioned in reports of the battle. See Phillips's *Civil War in Wales*, ii. 195.

[4] Lord Byron, writing to Rupert on April 4, stated that these three regiments would make up over 1,000 men. See also Phillips's *Civil War in Wales*, ii. 131, 133.

[5] Phillips's *Civil War in Wales*, ii. 125, 137. With Tillier and Broughton came Sir William Vaughan and four troops of horse.

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Byron's regiment from Chester, and a number of troops collected from the garrisons of Wales and the Marches.[1] In Lancashire, it is agreed by the reports of both parties that he considerably increased his numbers, and several regiments raised in that county appear in his plan of battle (for instance, the regiments of Colonel Chisenall and the two regiments of Sir Thomas Tildesley).[2]

In Lancashire he was also joined by Lord Goring with a force which the narrator of Rupert's march estimates at 5,000 horse and 800 foot.[3] This force was made up of some 2,000 cavalry under Sir Charles Lucas, whom Newcastle had sent out of York at the beginning of the blockade,[4] and of a miscellaneous body of horse collected by Goring from Lincolnshire, Newark, Leicestershire, Derbyshire, and the northern midlands in general. Parliamentary accounts substantially agree with this estimate of Goring's forces.[5]

[1] See Byron's letters to Rupert, April 4 and May 5, 1644, *Rupert MSS.*

[2] See the narrative of Rupert's march on p. 54, and *A Discourse of the Civil War in Lancashire*, ed. by W. Beamont for the Chetham Society, p. 53.

[3] See narrative of Rupert's march, p. 54.

[4] *Life of the Duke of Newcastle*, p. 71, ed. 1886; *Tenth Report of the Historical MSS. Comm.* i. 53 (Papers of the Earl of Eglinton).

[5] On April 10 George Goring had been despatched from Oxford (accompanied by the regiment of Colonel Evers) to take command of any forces that could be got together for Newcastle's assistance. Goring bore the title of general of all the horse north of Trent, and established his headquarters at Newark about April 26, where he collected all the cavalry he could from Lincolnshire and Nottinghamshire (*Rupert MSS.*). Newcastle's horse joined Goring's at or about Mansfield, who 'together with them made up about 100 troops.' On May 5 they recrossed the Trent, and endeavoured to interrupt Manchester's attack on Newark. Cromwell's and Manchester's horse drove them off, and forced them to recross the river. 'The enemy,' says Ashe's *Relation*, 'had above 90 colours, which we esteemed 4,000, and themselves accounted 6,000 horse' (Ashe's *Intelligence from the Earl of Manchester's Army*, Nos. 1 and 2). They then retired into Leicestershire, and Goring wrote to Rupert from Brookesby on May 10 urging the Prince to join him and relieve York. On May 25 the Committee of Both Kingdoms wrote to Manchester that Lord Newcastle's horse that had come out of York had recruited themselves to a great strength, raised at least 1,000 horse, and now were 3,000 horse and dragoons, and lying near Uttoxeter, in Staffordshire. On May 31 Newcastle's horse were said to be upon the frontiers of Yorkshire, between Woodhead and Stockport, with 3,000 horse and 100 foot (*Cal. State Papers*, Dom. 1644, pp. 171, 177, 188; cf. *Micro-chronicon*, June 20 and 25, 1644). Goring himself, about the end of May, marched

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Adding Goring's force to the force brought by Rupert into Lancashire, and assuming that the new recruits and new regiments raised in Lancashire compensated for the losses sustained at Bolton, Liverpool, and other sieges, we get a total of 7,000 horse and 6,800 foot. This agrees pretty closely with the statement made by Sir Robert Byron, the Royalist Governor of Liverpool, in a letter to Ormond written just after Rupert started for York. 'The Prince,' he says, 'marched from hence with an army of 6,000 foot and 7,000 horse.'[1] Rupert expected to be joined at Skipton by the Westmorland forces, but their numbers fell short of his expectation. Lord Goring, who was with Rupert's vanguard, and was quartered at Skipton, wrote to the Prince on June 25,[2] saying that the Westmorland and Cumberland troops had just joined, but that they came to not more than a thousand men; adding, 'The rest that your Highness ordered are promised to follow, but they are slow.' It may therefore be regarded as established that the relieving army with which Rupert advanced to York amounted to 14,000 men at the least, of whom about half were cavalry; it may possibly have amounted to 15,000, if some of the other detachments on their way from the north joined him during his advance. The Earl of Manchester's Scoutmaster-General, Leonard Watson, writing two days before the battle, estimated Rupert's army to be about 15,000 men.[3]

Rupert did not enter York, but camped outside it on the

through Derbyshire and Cheshire to join Rupert. His force was estimated at 2,000 men. Colonels Frecheville and Eyre followed him from Derbyshire with detachments from the local garrisons computed to be about 300 horse and as many foot (*Cal. State Papers*, Dom. 1644, p. 191). Goring joined Rupert about Bolton or Bury on June 1, according to the narrative of Rupert's march. See also, on his movements, the letters from Goring to Prince Rupert in the *Rupert MSS.*

[1] *Carte MSS.* For Parliamentary estimates of his strength, *vide Cal. State Papers*, Dom. pp. 257, 265. Vane, writing from York on June 23, estimates Rupert's strength at 11,000. Sir John Meldrum's estimate was 6,000 foot and 8,000 horse (*Fourth Rep. Hist. MSS. Comm.* p. 268).

[2] During the latter part of June Goring was quartered in the north of Lancashire, about Garstang and Ormskirk, and at the end of the month he was at Skipton.

[3] *Fairfax Correspondence*, iii. 111.

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night of July 1, and crossing the Ouse by a bridge of boats at Poppleton, above the city, followed the retreating Parliamentarians as far as Marston Moor. There he was joined by Newcastle and King, with a force from York which is variously estimated by the different Royalist authorities. In March 1644, during Newcastle's campaign against Leslie, his army seems to have risen at its highest to about 7,000 foot and near 4,000 horse. But it was very greatly diminished by the hardships it had to endure, and when he re-entered York, at the end of the following April, it cannot have numbered more than 5,000 foot and between 2,000 and 3,000 horse.[1] The horse, with the exception of a few troops kept for

[1] The exact size of the army with which Newcastle began the campaign against the Scots, and how much of it he brought back from the north, are points not very easy to determine. 'I know they tell you I have great force,' he wrote to Rupert on January 28 from York; 'truly I cannot march 5,000 foot, and the horse not well armed.' Next day he set out against the Scots, and Sir Charles Lucas wrote to Rupert on February 2 saying that, Newcastle 'having sent the greatest part of his army before, the number of his foot is uncertain, because many are to come to him as he passes through the bishopric; yet I believe they are going out of those parts about 5,000 foot and above 3,000 horse.' The Marquis and General King, in a joint letter to Charles dated February 13, say, 'We cannot possibly draw into the field full 5,000 foot and about 3,000 horse,' *i.e.* after deducting the necessary garrison for Newcastle. But the object of the whole letter is to minimise their strength, in order to get reinforcements (Warburton, *Prince Rupert*, ii. 368, 371, 483). Early in March Newcastle's army was strengthened by additional forces from Durham, and by the arrival of some cavalry under Sir Charles Lucas from the south. Lucas is said by Rushworth to have brought twelve troops of horse, and Sir Henry Slingsby states that he had 1,000 horse and dragoons. The Scots estimated that this raised Newcastle's army to 14,000 horse and foot, which is probably an over-estimate (Rushworth, v. 615; Slingsby's *Diary*, p. 103; cf. Warburton, ii. 356, 371). Newcastle himself, in a letter dated March 25, says: 'The Scots are as big again in foot as I am, and their horse, I doubt, much better' (Warburton, ii. 397). As he estimated the Scottish foot at 14,000, it is probable that he had not less than 7,000 foot, which, added to 4,000 horse, makes a total of 11,000.

Though the fighting during Newcastle's campaign against the Scots was not very severe, the hardships of the season and the difficulty of supplying the two armies diminished considerably the strength of each. The English suffered more than the Scots. His northern expedition, says Bowles, lost him many men, who were wearied out with the hardiness of the Scots (*Manifest Truths*, p. 4). A letter of intelligence from the Scottish camp, dated April 14, says: 'Newcastle hath lost half his army without fighting.' He began his retreat to York on April 13, and entered it April 19 (Rushworth, v. 620). A letter from the

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the service of the garrison, had been sent out under Lucas, and were at present in Rupert's army.[1] Now, after leaving three regiments of foot to defend York (two of which were local regiments, and had not formed part of his marching army),[2] Newcastle told Rupert that he would bring to the battlefield 4,000 'as good men as were in the world.' According to Sir Hugh Cholmley, however, the force which General King actually brought to the field on the afternoon of July 2 did not amount to more than 3,000. The writer of the notes which Warburton terms 'Rupert's Diary' asserts that they numbered only 2,500 men. On the other hand, in Rupert's battle plan, Newcastle's forces are shown as seven bodies of infantry, which can scarcely be taken to mean less than 2,800 or 3,500 men. Probably each of these bodies is intended to represent a regiment.[3] In addition to the foot, Newcastle contributed a troop of horse commanded by Sir Thomas Metham, consisting of all the gentlemen of quality that were in York, at whose head the Marquis him-

Scottish army, dated Weatherby, April 20, says that Newcastle's army now in York is 'betwixt 4,000 and 5,000 horse and about 6,000 foot, for by those who were killed and taken at several skirmishes in Northumberland, and those that ran away, he is made weaker in his foot about three or four thousand.' (A similar figure is given by the Committee of Both Kingdoms, *Cal. State Papers*, Dom. 1644, p. 137.) This is an over-estimate in each case, but it seems likely that he reached York with not less than 4,000 or 5,000 foot, seeing the number he was able to put into the field after a two months' siege, which had involved a considerable amount of fighting. *The Kingdom's Weekly Intelligencer*, May 7–14, describes Newcastle as having in York '4,000 Papists, besides the soldiers in arms, being 5,000 foot and horse, and all the inhabitants in York besides.'

[1] According to Sir Robert Byron, writing to Ormond on July 8, Newcastle had in the town 6,000 foot and 1,200 horse. A Scottish officer, writing on May 1, states that 'four troops of horse were kept by Newcastle in York when Lucas and the rest of the cavalry left him' (*Tenth Report Hist. MSS. Comm.* i. 53). Horse belonging to the garrison are mentioned in the narratives of the siege (Slingsby's *Diary*, pp. 110, 111; Ashe's *Relations*, No. 3).

[2] The forces left to guard York were the three regiments of Colonel Bellasis, Sir Thomas Glemham, and Sir Henry Slingsby (Slingsby's *Diary*, p. 112). Slingsby's was a city regiment; Bellasis being the governor left by Newcastle to defend York, his regiment was, no doubt, part of the original garrison; Glemham had been with Newcastle in the north, so his regiment was pretty certainly part of Newcastle's marching army.

[3] For Cholmley's narrative, see *English Historical Review*, 1890, p. 347; Warburton, ii. 449; Newcastle's divisions are marked 'z' in the plan.

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self fought during the battle.[1] Adding together the forces of Rupert's and Newcastle's armies, it is clear that Rupert at Marston Moor may have had a total of 11,000 foot and 6,500 horse under his command, as De Gomme's plan asserts, and it is possible that he may have had about 7,500 horse.[2] The plan also states that the Prince had sixteen guns; but the 'Full Relation' declares, 'We took all their ordnance, being in number twenty-five.'[3]

The Parliamentary army at Marston Moor numbered, according to Colonel Ross's estimate, 26,000 or 27,000 men. The total of 27,000 is that attributed to the Roundheads in the notes to Prince Rupert's plan, and is also that given in the 'Full Relation of the late Victory,' published on the Parliament's side.[4] Of that 27,000, about 19,000 or 20,000 were infantry and the rest horse. An examination of the three different forces which made up the joint Parliamentary army, viz., the Scotish army under Leven, the Yorkshire forces under the two Fairfaxes, and the army of the Eastern Association under the Earl of Manchester, confirms the correctness of this estimate.

The Scottish army which entered England in January 1644 consisted of about 18,000 foot and about 3,000 horse.[5]

[1] *Life of the Duke of Newcastle*, ed. 1886, p. 78: Sir Hugh Cholmley's narrative. Slingsby states that Newcastle brought with him all the forces he had except the three foot regiments mentioned above. It is probable, therefore, that he brought 300 or 400 horse at least, besides this troop of gentlemen.

[2] Clarendon, in a paper of notes on Marston Moor, gives very nearly the same figures. 'On the Kinge's syde, of the prince's and the Marq. of Newcastle's, the army was not much less than 18,000. The enemy, at the least, 26,000' (Clarendon's *Rebellion*, ed. Macray, viii. 75, note). After the battle Sir Charles Lucas, who was taken prisoner, was said to have confessed that the Royalist foot numbered 12,000 men (*The Glorious and Miraculous Battel at York*). Watson, Manchester's Scoutmaster, says in his narrative: 'Their whole army is so broken, that of foot I am confident they are not able, of 13,000 or 14,000, to rally 2,000, and of 8,000 or 9,000 horse, not above 2,000.'

[3] *A Full Relation of the late Victory, &c., sent by Captain Stewart*, p. 10; cf. Warburton, *Prince Rupert*, ii. 465.

[4] See list of authorities, p. 49, on the authorship and value of this pamphlet.

[5] By the treaty of November 29, 1643, the Scots were to send an army of 18,000 foot, 2,000 horse, 1,000 dragoons, and a train of artillery (Thurloe, i. 29). A report made to the House of Lords on January 30, 1644, stated that the army

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When Leven reached York at the end of April his army was considerably reduced in numbers. Lord Fairfax estimated it to be then 14,000 foot and 2,000 horse.[1] But for the infantry even this reduced figure seems to be too high. A certain number of foot regiments (not less than four) had been left to garrison places in Northumberland and Durham.[2] The losses from exposure to weather, fighting, and insufficient supplies must have been very considerable.[3] Moreover, no

which had actually entered England consisted of 18,000 foot and 3,000 horse (including dragoons) (*Lords' Journals*, vi. 399). A pamphlet entitled *The Scots Army advanced into England* contains a letter from the Scottish headquarters at Addarston, dated January 24, 1644, saying the army is 'in all 18,000 foot and 3,000 horse, and betwixt 400 and 500 dragoons.' Rushworth says 18,000 foot, 3,000 horse, and between 500 and 600 dragoons (*Collections*, v. 603). His 'list of the regiments and chief officers' enumerates eighteen regiments of ten companies each, besides one of five companies, one of three companies, and Lord Sinclair's regiment, of which the number of companies is unspecified. We know from the *Memorie of the Somervilles* that this regiment consisted of twelve companies of 100 men apiece. Had the twenty-one regiments been complete the army should have consisted of 21,000 foot, instead of 18,000. As it was, the 200 companies of which the infantry of the army was composed averaged ninety men apiece instead of 100. Spalding mentions the fact that the orders for levying men were imperfectly obeyed (*History of the Troubles*, ed. 1829, pp. 363, 380). Leven, in a despatch written in July, repeats the statement that many regiments were deficient in numbers from the start (Thurloe, i. 39). Somerville, lieutenant-colonel of Sinclair's regiment, goes so far as to allege that the whole army only came to 18,000 men, including 2,500 horse (*Memorie of the Somervilles*, ii. 279).

[1] *Eighth Report Hist. MSS. Comm.* ii. 60. Sir Thomas Fairfax, in his *Short Memorial*, says that the Scots, added to Lord Fairfax's forces, made up a total of 16,000 foot and 4,000 horse, but does not say what proportion of the infantry were Scots.

[2] Two regiments were left in Sunderland, one in Blyth, 500 men in Morpeth Castle, 150 in South Shields, and other detachments in Lumley and Warkworth Castles (Somerville, *Memorie*, ii. 286; Bowles, *Manifest Truths*, 1646, pp. 3, 9; Thurloe, i. 35, 37; Rushworth, v. 615; Napier, *Memoirs of Montrose*, ed. 1856, p. 398).

[3] Leven joined Lord Fairfax at Tadcaster on April 20. The Scottish army had then been three months in the field, enduring all the hardships of a winter campaign. The snow and the frost are frequently mentioned in the accounts of their marches. At the beginning of March, when Newcastle found it impossible to persuade Leven to attack his position on the Bowden Hills, near Sunderland, he returned to Durham, 'with an intention to straiten the enemy's quarters, who were all this time much incommoded, and under great difficulties for provision . . . so that sometimes the whole army had neither meat nor drink, and never had above twenty-four hours' provision beforehand' (Rushworth, v. 615). This is confirmed by Bowles (*Manifest Truths*, p. 30). In their march from Darlington to Weatherby

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recruits or reinforcements had reached the army from Scotland to fill the gaps in its ranks which wounds, sickness, or hardships had caused.[1] During the siege of York, too, there was a certain amount of fighting, as the besieged made several sallies, and several detached forts were not taken without some loss.[2] A fifth regiment of foot, under Sir John Meldrum, was sent to defend Manchester against Prince Rupert.[3] Taking these deductions into consideration, it seems pretty clear that the Scottish infantry at Marston amounted to not more than 11,500, or at the outside 12,000. The cavalry, which had suffered from the same causes as the foot, but suffered to a greater extent, cannot well have numbered more than the 2,000 horse mentioned by the two Fairfaxes, and this figure given by them apparently included the dragoons,[4]

in April, in pursuit of Newcastle, one of the Scottish relations says: 'Our army . . . suffered much hunger by the way for want of provisions' (*Extract of letters dated Edinburgh*, April 14, 16, and 17, 1644, p. 13).

Of the extent of the loss caused by these hardships no particulars are given by the pamphlets.

[1] Lord Lindsay wrote to the Committee of the Scottish Estates on June 1, on behalf of the army before York, saying: 'We find that by our keeping of the fields these full five months our regiments are become somewhat weaker than the beginning; whereof we are not to expect any recruits from this [country]. We do therefore entreat your lordships to think upon some course for the recruiting of the several regiments which are already of this army.' On July 18, Leven himself wrote: 'As in my former letters, I must likewise by this entreat that your lordships will take into consideration the weakness of the several regiments of this army, occasioned by much service and very hard usage since our coming from Scotland.' There are also complaints in the letters of Lindsay and Leven of the number of officers absent from their regiments, and of desertion amongst the soldiers (*Thurloe Papers*, i. 36, 39).

[2] Rushworth, v. 622; Markham, *Life of the Great Lord Fairfax*, pp. 145-149; Ashe, *Relation*; Bowles, *Manifest Truths*, p. 5.

[3] Thurloe, i. 36; *Cal. State Papers*, Dom. 1644, pp. 173, 193, 206. The regiment's name is not mentioned, but as a letter describes the soldiers as 'redshanks,' they were probably either Highlanders or a regiment recruited from the Scots in Ulster (Carte, *Original Letters*, i. 53).

[4] By the treaty of November 29, 1643, the Scots were pledged to bring 2,000 horse and 1,000 dragoons (Thurloe, i. 29). The Scottish Parliament, however, endeavoured to raise a larger number of horse, estimating, doubtless, that a greater proportion of horse was necessary for the safety of so large an army. An Act printed by Spalding orders the levy of seven regiments of horse, of eight troops each, consisting of sixty men per troop, and specifies the districts in which the troops are to be raised. This would make a force of 3,360 soldiers, exclusive of

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as one of the seven regiments of horse mentioned by Rushworth had been left in Durham.[1] There were present at Marston six regiments of Scottish horse and part of a regiment of dragoons.[2]

Lord Fairfax's corps formed the second element in the combined Parliamentary army, and was the smallest of its three component parts. As the organisation of Fairfax's

officers. It is certain, however, that the orders were not completely carried out, and that the number of the cavalry actually raised fell short of these figures. The list of horse regiments reprinted by Rushworth mentions fifty-two troops of about sixty in a troop, divided into seven regiments, and a couple of 'loose troops,' which would equal 3,120 troopers, exclusive of dragoons, whose numbers are not given. Rushworth's estimate is 3,000 horse and 500 or 600 dragoons. The report made to the House of Lords mentions 3,000 horse, including dragoons. Somerville speaks of 2,500 horse, and makes no mention of dragoons. Newcastle, writing on February 13, said the Scots had 2,000 horse (Warburton, ii. 348). Some of the regiments were certainly deficient in numbers. In Lord Dalhousie's one whole troop was missing as late as February 17, besides 'many other troopers elsewhere' (Thurloe, i. 32). The hardships of the campaign affected the cavalry more than the foot, as the difficulty of procuring forage for their horses is specially mentioned in the accounts of the campaign (Rushworth, v. 615; Napier, *Memoirs of Montrose*, ii. 390), and considerably hampered their movements. In a skirmish at Corbridge with Sir Marmaduke Langdale the Scottish cavalry lost 150 prisoners, including three officers, and about 200 killed, according to Langdale's account, which is to some extent confirmed by the narrative in Rushworth. They lost men also in the skirmishes near Sunderland, though the Royalist accounts greatly exaggerate their loss (Rushworth, v. 614, 616; *Newcastle's Life*, pp. 350, 353, 355).

[1] Colonel Michael Weldon's regiment of horse was certainly not at Marston Moor. If it joined Leslie's army at all, it was immediately sent back to the north, but it was more probably detained on its march to join him. Weldon's regiment appears in Rushworth's list as consisting of seven troops, *i.e.* 420 men. Six troops of horse and four of dragoons, making in all a body of about 800 men, who were marching south to join Leven's army in May, were ordered by him to retrace their steps and attempt to raise the siege of Morpeth Castle, where half of Lord Sinclair's regiment were besieged by Montrose (*Memorie of the Somervilles*, ii. 310). They failed in the attempt, but were kept in Durham to oppose Montrose and Clavering, and were absent at the battle (Thurloe, i. 36, 41; Napier, *Memoirs of Montrose*, ii. 398).

[2] By the treaty the dragoons were to be 1,000 in number, and they formed a single regiment under the command of Colonel Frizell, or Freiser, and Lieut.-Colonel Crawford of Skeldon. According to Rushworth, between 500 and 600 dragoons entered England with the Scottish army in January 1644 (Rushworth, v. 603, 605). This accounts for six troops; the other four troops were detained in Durham to fight Clavering and Montrose. The dragoon regiment became subsequently amous as one of the two stoutest regiments in the Scottish army (Somerville, *Memorie*, ii. 315; Napier, *Montrose*, ii. 398).

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command was imperfect and its pay irregular,[1] while no list of the regiments forming it is extant, its numbers are very difficult to estimate. It consisted chiefly of men raised in Yorkshire; but some Lancashire horse and some Lancashire infantry were part of the force with which Sir Thomas Fairfax joined his father in April 1644.[2] In May, at the beginning of the siege of York, the force under the Fairfaxes was not less than 3,000 foot and 2,000 horse and dragoons.[3] It was reduced by some detachments made

[1] *Cal. State Papers*, Dom. 1644, p. 246.

[2] At the close of 1643, Sir Thomas Fairfax with about 1,500 horse had marched into Lancashire to help Sir William Brereton and the local Parliamentarians against Lord Byron's army from Ireland, whom he defeated at Nantwich on January 25, 1644. Lord Fairfax remained behind at Hull with the foot and the rest of the Yorkshire forces. Newcastle and King wrote on February 13, saying: 'My Lord Fairfax hath sent forth out of Hull into the East Riding 2,000 foot and 500 horse, all threatening towards us, which will make them a great body. Besides, Sir Thomas Fairfax's success in Cheshire hath made him capable of drawing from Lancashire a very great force into the West Riding of Yorkshire, which he is ready to do' (Warburton, ii. 483). In the West Riding, Colonel Lambert was waiting for Sir Thomas Fairfax's advance with eight troops of horse and 600 foot (Markham, *Life of Robert Fairfax*, p. 15).

In March 1644 Sir Thomas Fairfax was ordered to return into Yorkshire and, joining his father, to fall upon Newcastle's rear. He was instructed to take with him six troops of Lancashire horse and two regiments of foot. The two regiments of foot were estimated to amount to 1,500 men, and he was also to gather up 500 horse and 500 foot from Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire. These Derbyshire forces do not seem to have joined him, but some Lancashire forces did (*Cal. State Papers*, Dom. 1644, pp. 35, 87, 99, 164).

The Royalist Commissioners at York, writing to Rupert on March 29, estimated Sir Thomas's force at 2,000 horse and as many foot.

[3] The two Fairfaxes united their forces about the beginning of April. On April 7 the Committee of Both Kingdoms informed the Committee of Kent that Lord Fairfax and his son are joined in Yorkshire, and make up 2,000 horse and 4,000 foot going to join with the Scots army (*Cal. State Papers*, Dom. 1644, p. 103). *Mercurius Civicus* for April 11–18 is more explicit, stating, on the authority of a special messenger from Sir Thomas Fairfax, 'that upon the advance of the Lord Fairfax from Hull with twenty troops of horse on Friday was seven night last (*i.e.* April 5), he joined with Sir Thomas Fairfax and Colonel Lambert (who made up above sixty troops more, besides foot) at Leeds; from whence, having left 500 foot there and two troops of horse at Bradford, they advanced towards York.' On April 11 they attacked and defeated Colonel John Bellasis at Selby, taking about 1,700 prisoners. Their force, according to *Mercurius Civicus*, was 'about 5,000 strong in horse and foot, Sir John Meldrum's 2,000 foot being also with them.' Meldrum's foot belonged to Lord Fairfax's army, and may perhaps be included in this 5,000. Lord Fairfax himself, on the other hand, says that the

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during the siege ;[1] but the junction of detachments employed previously in other parts of Yorkshire probably more than compensated for this reduction.[2] At Marston Moor, therefore, Lord Fairfax must have had between 3,000 and 3,500 foot and 2,000 horse and dragoons. His infantry made up two brigades, and as the average strength of a Parliamentary brigade of infantry in the battle appears to have been about 1,650 men, this would make Fairfax's contingent 3,300 foot or thereabouts.

The third element in the Parliamentary army was Manchester's corps. Its strength is more easy to estimate, as the names of the regiments composing it are known and their movements more or less ascertainable ; while a certain number of muster-rolls for May to July, 1644, have been preserved, though the series is, unfortunately, incomplete.[3] The force with which Manchester took the field when his campaign began was about 9,000 men. The rest of his

whole army 'under his command at Selby consisted of 2,000 horse and as many foot,' including apparently both his son's cavalry and Meldrum's foot. Fairfax then marched to York, pitching his camp at Fulford, on the east side of the Ouse. The united cavalry of Fairfax and the Scots amounted, according to Sir Thomas Fairfax, to 4,000, and their foot to 16,000. This would make the strength of Fairfax's army between 3,000 and 4,000 foot and about 2,000 horse. *The Kingdom's Weekly Intelligencer* for May 7–14 says that after the fall of York Lord Fairfax would be able to spare 3,000 choice foot and 2,000 horse to join Manchester.

[1] During the siege one regiment of Yorkshire horse, under Colonel Charles Fairfax, was sent to Durham to assist Weldon against Montrose, and a regiment of Lancashire foot, under Meldrum, to Manchester to aid in its defence against Rupert (*Lancashire Civil War Tracts*, p. 188 ; Thurloe, i. 36 ; *Cal. State Papers*, Dom. 1644, pp. 173, 206, 242, 257).

[2] On the other hand, the foot who had been employed under Meldrum in the capture of Cawood and Ayremouth, and possibly other detachments of Yorkshire infantry, must have joined the besieging army, so that its numbers remained much the same (Vicars, *God's Ark*, p. 233). Moreover, the Yorkshire army, being in its own district, was better able to recruit its numbers than that of Manchester or the Scots.

[3] Manchester was authorised by ordinance of August 10, 1643, to raise an army of 14,000 men, and a second ordinance, passed on January 20, 1644, states that he had raised that number or thereabouts (Husbands, *Ordinances*, 1646, pp. 286, 492). A Parliamentary newspaper at the end of February 1644 stated that the army of the Eastern Association consisted of 10,000 foot, 3,000 horse, and 2,000 dragoons (Sanford, *Studies and Illustrations of the Great Rebellion*, p. 581)

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troops were left to guard the associated counties.[1] After the capture of Lincoln, Manchester sent about 3,000 horse and dragoons to join David Leslie and Sir Thomas Fairfax, who were posted in the West Riding to cover the siege of York.[2] On June 3 he joined the besiegers of York with 6,000 foot and 100 horse, according to the newspapers, the 'Relations' of Chaplain Ashe, and Sir Thomas Fairfax's 'Short Memorial.'[3] During the siege an unsuccessful assault on York, rashly attempted by Major-General Crawford, cost Manchester's army a loss of 300 men.[4] It appears also to have lost a good many men from desertion or sickness, and the muster-rolls show a rapid diminution amongst his infantry.[5] At Marston

[1] *Mercurius Civicus*, quoted in *Cromwelliana*, p. 8, states that the force which assembled at Gainsborough at the end of April consisted of 9,000 men. See also Vicars's *God's Ark*, p. 209.

[2] On May 22, Manchester wrote from Lincoln saying that he had four regiments of foot with him, and four more at Gainsborough and elsewhere, in readiness to march towards the Scots on news of Prince Rupert's approach. Most of his horse were already joined with the Scots horse, but 1,200 were still with him (*Tenth Report of the Historical Manuscripts Commission*, part vi. p. 152). Cromwell, with near 3,000 horse and dragoons, had been sent to join the cavalry of Fairfax and the Scots immediately after the capture of Lincoln (*i.e.* after May 6), so that Manchester's cavalry must have been at this time 4,000 in number, rather than 3,000 (Ashe's *Relation*, No. 2). Sir John Palgrave's regiment of foot was left to guard Lincoln (*Carte MSS.* lxxiv. 159). Some horse also must have been left in Lincolnshire.

[3] Ashe's *Relation* does not specify the force Manchester brought with him to York. Rushworth, v. 622, says 600 foot (a misprint for 6,000) and 100 horse. Sir Thomas Fairfax says 6,000 foot (*Short Memorial*; Arber's *English Garner*, viii. 605).

[4] Manchester states his loss in this assault as near 300 men, in a letter, dated June 18, to the Committee of Both Kingdoms (*Cal. State Papers*, Dom. 1644, p. 246). See also *Baillie's Letters*, ii. 195, 200; and for other losses during the siege, Ashe's *Relations*, Nos. 3 and 4.

[5] Manchester seems to have had six regiments of foot at York—his own, which was a regiment of eighteen companies, and those of Major-General Crawford and Colonels Montagu, Russell, Pickering, and Sir Michael Hobart. Musters taken about the middle of May, June, and July exist for all these regiments except that of Pickering. The diminution in their numbers was very rapid. Crawford's regiment of eight companies mustered 802 privates in May, 529 in June, and in July, after Marston Moor, only 325. In June, Manchester's, Crawford's, Russell's, Montagu's, and Hobart's regiments, numbering fifty-two companies, mustered 3,145 privates, and if we add an estimate for Pickering's, of which no muster exists, the total may have been 3,700. The officers, non-commissioned

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Moor he brought to the field three brigades of infantry, numbering probably about 5,000 men, less rather than more. His cavalry, however, seems still to have numbered about 3,000 men, including the dragoons.[1]

II

The Order of Battle of the Royalist and Parliamentary Armies

Plans of the battle, showing the position of the different regiments and brigades of the two armies, may be found in Warburton's 'Prince Rupert,' in Sanford's 'Studies and Illustrations of the Great Rebellion,' and in Sir Clement Markham's 'Life of the Great Lord Fairfax.'[2] All these plans, however, though drawn up after careful study of contemporary accounts, are more or less hypothetical; they

officers, and staff of the regiments would bring the total of Manchester's infantry to about 4,500. There may possibly have been a few detached companies present belonging to other regiments of Manchester's command, but his foot at Marston was certainly not more than 5,000, and probably only about 4,500.

[1] The cavalry of Manchester's army was much nearer its original strength than the infantry. It had done no fighting in the campaign, and had good quarters in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire most of the time. Cavalry soldiers, being better paid, deserted very little. Occasional muster-rolls of different troops during 1644 show that their ranks were kept pretty full, especially in Cromwell's own regiment. The regiments present at Marston Moor were Cromwell's own regiment, consisting of fourteen troops; Manchester's regiment of horse, which had eleven troops; Colonel Vermuyden's of five troops, and Colonel Fleetwood's of six; also Manchester's regiment of dragoons, which consisted of five companies. The pay-roll of Manchester's army from April 29, 1644, to March 1, 1645, gives these particulars of the number of troops composing the different regiments. The presence of the regiments at Marston Moor is shown by references to their officers in newspaper narratives of the battle, accounts, &c. Whether all the troops specified as belonging to the respective regiments were present at Marston is, of course, open to doubt; but, certainly, nearly all were. The troops of horse in Manchester's army numbered 100 men, and therefore the thirty-six troops of horse in question may very well have had a strength of from 2,000 to 2,500 at Marston Moor. To each troop there were four commissioned officers and four or five non-commissioned. The five companies of dragoons would amount to 500 men normally.

[2] Warburton, ii. 455; Sanford, p. 594; Markham, p. 164; cf. Gardiner, *Great Civil War*, i. 375. Mr. Gardiner gives very few details, but follows in the main Sir C. Markham's plan.

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contain details which the authorities do not give, and assume much for which there is no evidence.

Fortunately, however, there is for the Royalist army a plan which gives exact details of the regiments present and their position in the line. Sir Bernard de Gomme, a Dutchman, who served in the King's army as engineer and quartermaster-general, was with Rupert during the campaign, and drew up an elaborate plan of Rupert's order of battle, which is now in the British Museum.[1] Its elaboration and its finish seem to show that it was completed some time after the event; but it was probably based on some sketch made at the time, either by De Gomme himself or by the Prince. Rupert, we know, before the battle began showed General King and the Marquis of Newcastle a paper, which he said was the draft of the battle as he meant to fight it, and asked them what they thought of it. King answered, 'By God, sir, it is very fine on the paper, but there is no such thing in the field.'[2]

Some such paper as this Gomme doubtless had before him to supplement his recollections when he sat down to make the carefully coloured plan in the Museum.

A comparison of the details of this plan with the three plans before mentioned would serve no useful purpose, for they differ too much to make a comparison very intelligible. It is better to summarise the formation of Rupert's army, as given in the plan, proceeding from west to east along the line.

The Royalist right wing, the wing opposed to Cromwell and David Leslie, consisted of 2,100 horse, arranged in two lines, and of 500 musketeers. The first line, being 1,100 horse, consisted of the regiments of Lord Byron, Colonel Urry, Sir William Vaughan,[3] and Colonel Trevor. Lord

[1] *Addit. MS.* 16370, f. 64.

[2] *Life of Newcastle*, p. 77.

[3] Sir William Vaughan's command consisted of horse belonging to the English army in Ireland, whom Ormond had sent over in January 1644 (Phillips, *Civil War in Wales*, ii. 125). Vicars states, following one of the newspapers, and referring no doubt to Vaughan's regiment, that 'Rupert had designed certain troops of horse (all Irish Papists and gentlemen, old soldiers all, who had been in service in Spain and France) to give the first charge to the brigade or party in which General Cromwell was, and that they did confidently believe there was not a man of them but would rather dye than fly; but they mist their expectations,

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Byron was probably in command of the wing, with Colonel Urry as his professional adviser, Urry being a soldier of great experience.[1]

The 500 musketeers were arranged in companies of 50 behind the horse, intended to fire through the intervals of the squadrons upon an advancing enemy. The second line, or reserve, consisted of 800 horse, being the regiments of Lord Molineux, Sir Thomas Tildesley, Colonel Leveson. This reserve was commanded by Lord Molineux. Between the first and second lines and more to the right the plan places the regiment of Colonel Tuke, apparently a couple of hundred horse, appointed to guard the flank.

But to the left of the second line, and between Lord Molineux's brigade and the infantry of the centre, was posted Prince Rupert's own regiment of horse, containing five troops or more, marked 'G' in the plan. This is not included in the 2,100 horse forming the right wing, but is an addition to it. The five troops of Rupert's regiment may probably be taken as about 400 or 500 men. At Naseby the same regiment numbered, according to Symonds, 400 men, and it was, no doubt, as large or larger now.[2] This makes the total horse of the right wing 2,600 men.[3]

for many of them being indeed slain in the place, all the rest fled' (Vicars, *God's Ark*, p. 280; cf. *Cromwelliana*, p. 10, quoting *The Parliament Scout*).

[1] Urry is credited with some responsibility for the order of battle adopted. 'Some suspected Colonel Urry (lately converted to the King's party) for foul play herein; for he divided the King's old horse, so valiant and victorious in former fights, into small bodies, alleging this was the best way to break the Scottish lancers. But those horse, always used to charge together in whole regiments or greater bodies, were much discomposed with this new mode, so that they could not find themselves in themselves' (Fuller's *Worthies*, ii. 536, ed. 1811). Cholmley partly confirms this statement, describing Urry as 'having the marshalling of the horse in the Prince's right wing.' Watson erroneously puts Urry on the left wing.

[2] *Diary of Richard Symonds*, p. 181.

[3] Scoutmaster Watson, who fought under Cromwell, says: 'The right wing of their horse was commanded by Prince Rupert, who had in it some twelve divisions of horse consisting of 100 troops, and might be 5,000 men.' This is a great exaggeration. Watson, no doubt, counts in the reserve cavalry from the centre, who came to the relief of the right wing after Cromwell's first success. On the other hand, this figure of 2,600 or so, derived from De Gomme's plan,

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The arrangement of the Royalist centre was rather less simple. Well to the front of the whole line, and well to the right of it, Lord Byron's and Prince Rupert's own regiment of foot were stationed, possibly to lead the van in an intended attack, and to serve as a forlorn hope, perhaps on account of something in the nature of the ground.[1] They were apparently posted at the vulnerable point of Rupert's position, where, according to Mr. Gardiner, the ditch which formed the first line of defence was filled up, or where, as the Full Relation states, the ground was more open.

The first line proper consisted of the regiments of Colonel Waring, Sir Thomas Tildesley, Colonel Broughton, Colonel Erneley, Colonel Gibson, and Colonel Tillier, the last four being old soldiers from the English army in Ireland. The second line, which was of about the same strength, consisted of three of Newcastle's regiments, with the regiments of Colonel Cheater, Colonel Chisnall, and one whose commander is not named. In a third line were four more regiments of Newcastle's. The novel feature in this arrangement of the infantry of Rupert's centre, given by the plan, is the location of Newcastle's foot. The seven bodies (or regiments) 'of my Lord Newcastle's foot' are placed in the second and third lines, as they naturally would be placed if they arrived late on the field, as we know from Sir Hugh Cholmley's narrative they did.[2] Besides this, they are posted not on the left of Rupert's centre, as has been hitherto assumed in plans and accounts of the battle, but on the right centre. A second point which should be noted is that a large portion of Rupert's horse are posted not on one of the wings, but in the rear of the centre. In the extreme rear there is a brigade of

seems, for reasons given hereafter, somewhat too low, for Rupert doubtless posted the bulk of his cavalry on the right, knowing that he had there opposed to him Cromwell and the flower of the Parliamentary horse, and also because the ground on that wing seems to have been more open and level.

[1] 'There was a great ditch between the enemy and us, which ran along the front of the battell, only between the Earl of Manchester's foot and the enemy there was a plain; in this ditch the enemy had placed foure brigades of their best foot' (*A Full Relation of the late Victory, &c., sent by Captain Stewart*, p. 6).

[2] *English Historical Review*, 1890, p. 345.

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400 horse, No. 3 on the plan, commanded by Sir Edward Widdrington; and next to it Rupert's own troop of horse, numbered 2. This was evidently what was called Prince Rupert's life guard of horse, as distinguished from his regiment. At Naseby it numbered 140 men, and was commanded by Sir Richard Crane, as it probably was at Marston.[1] As Colonel Ross points out in his review of Mr. Gardiner, it is probable that Rupert was, when the action began, neither on the right nor the left wing, 'and never intended, as being commander-in-chief, to occupy any station which would prevent him tactically directing . . . the whole line of battle. The most likely and proper place for Rupert at Marston Moor would be somewhere in the rear and centre of his own line of battle.'[2] Colonel Ross then enumerates various facts tending to prove this point; but the strongest piece of evidence is, I think, the position which the plan assigns to the Prince's life guard.

Besides Widdrington's brigade and the Prince's life guard there was also another brigade of horse in the centre, viz. Sir William Blakiston's brigade, which is marked 'X' on the plan. Its numbers are not stated, but from the space assigned to it on the plan it was evidently not less than 400 horse, and may have been 600. At Naseby he was again in command of a part of the Northern horse amounting to about 600.[3] Adding together Widdrington's and Blakiston's brigades and Rupert's life guard, it is clear that about 1,000 or 1,200 of Rupert's horse were stationed behind the foot of the centre, presumably as a reserve, under his own immediate command.

I come now to the left wing of the Royalist army, which was arranged much in the same way as the right. The horse were in two lines, and the front line was supported by 500 musketeers. Sir Thomas Fairfax, speaking of this left wing, says: 'The intervals of horse (in this wing only) were lined with musketeers, which did us much hurt with their shot.'[4]

[1] Symonds, *Diary*, pp. 181, 182.
[2] *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, 1890, p. 384.
[3] Symonds, *Diary*, p. 182.
[4] *Short Memorial*, p. 3; Arber, 607.

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But in this statement he was evidently mistaken, for the plan shows the same lining with musketeers in the right wing. It seems to have been a favourite device with Rupert, for at Naseby both the wings of horse were interspersed with musketeers in the same fashion. Gustavus Adolphus habitually did the same. The first line of the Royalist left wing consisted of the brigade of Sir Charles Lucas, posted on the extreme left of the line, and of the regiments of Colonel Eyre and Colonel Frecheville. The two latter regiments were from Derbyshire; the former was part of Newcastle's Northern army. In all they came to 1,100 horse. On the flank were 200 horse under Colonel Carnaby. The second line consisted of 800 horse under Sir Richard Dacres.[1] The whole of the left wing was under the command of George Goring, the general of the horse to the Royalist forces north of the Trent,[2] and the different regiments composing it seem all to have formed part of the division with which he had joined Rupert in Lancashire. The left wing as a whole was inferior in strength to the right, numbering 2,100 men, as opposed to about 2,600.[3]

In describing the Parliamentary order of battle it will probably be most convenient to the reader to invert the process followed in describing the Royalist order, and to proceed from east to west rather than from west to east.

The Parliamentary right wing opposed to Goring and the Royalist left was under the command of Sir Thomas Fairfax. It consisted of Fairfax's own cavalry, numbering, as we have seen, about 2,000 men, and of three regiments of Scottish

[1] Sir Thomas Dacres of Cumberland?

[2] See the King's letter of April 17, 1644, amongst the *Rupert MSS.*

[3] One difficulty remains to be noticed. De Gomme states that the total of the King's horse was 6,500, but unluckily does not give the strength of every division. Taking the figures given in the text, which, with the exceptions mentioned in their place, are derived from his plan, we get a total of 2,600 horse for the right wing, 2,100 for the left, and 1,200 for the reserve; in all, 5,900. Six hundred, therefore, remain to be accounted for. Either De Gomme in the round numbers he gives understates the strength of the different regiments and divisions, or the estimates I have given where he gives no numbers are too low. Or it may be that dragoons not stationed in the line of battle, but scattered along the ditch and in the rough ground, account for the missing six hundred. I can only state the problem.

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horse, numbering probably about 800.[1] Fairfax's cavalry contained a certain number of newly levied troops from Lancashire, who did not behave well.[2] Under Fairfax were serving his brother, Colonel Charles Fairfax, Colonel Hugh Bethell, Colonel John Lambert,[3] and others, whose names are not mentioned in the accounts of the battle. The three Scottish regiments were those of the Earl of Leven himself, commanded by his son, Lord Balgony, Lord Dalhousy's, and Lord Eglinton's. They formed the reserve, and were possibly posted in a third line. A portion of them were lancers.

The Parliamentary centre was formed of the infantry of the three armies. The received account is that the Scottish infantry was in the middle, with the infantry of the Fairfaxes on their right and that of Manchester on their left. This view, which is based on the very definite statement contained in the 'Full Relation of the late Victory, sent by Captain Stewart,' is adopted by Mr. Sanford, Sir Clements Markham, Mr. Gardiner, and other modern writers on the battle.[4] On the other hand, two other narratives, both written by eye-witnesses, and both committed to writing within a week of the battle, state with equal definiteness that Lord Fairfax's

[1] 'I had the right wing, with some Scotch horse and lances for my reserve' (Fairfax, *Short Memorial*). The *Full Relation*, which Mr. Gardiner attributes to Lord Eglinton, gives the names of these three regiments, and says that Balgony's regiment (or at all events one squadron of it) were lancers (pp. 4, 7). The three regiments, according to Rushworth's table of the Scottish, consisted of twenty-two troops. The reasons for putting their effective strength so low have already been stated. Watson's narrative states that Fairfax had eighty troops of horse under his command. This number is so large compared with the total force that one naturally suspects a misprint or a mistake. On the other hand, in imperfectly organised local armies of the period troops of very low strength were quite common.

[2] 'He had many new raised horse which had never seen service' (Bowles, *Manifest Truths*, p. 7). 'Sir Thomas Fairfax his new levied regiments being in the van, they wheeled about' (*Full Relation*, p. 7). See p. 77, *post*.

[3] Fairfax in his *Short Memorial* mentions the services of Lambert. Lambert's major, William Fairfax, and Colonel Charles Fairfax were both mortally wounded.

[4] 'Next unto them' (*i.e.* the right wing of horse) 'was drawn up the right wing of the foot, consisting of the Lord Fairfax, his foot, and two brigades of the Scottish foot for a reserve' (*Full Relation*, p. 5). Watson's narrative is silent as to the relative positions of Fairfax's foot and the Scots, and the *True Relation of the late Fight* says nothing as to the order of battle. The language used by Bowles in *Manifest Truths*, p. 7, is ambiguous, and will bear either interpretation.

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infantry was in the middle, and that the Scots were stationed on their right.[1] All accounts agree as to the position of Manchester's foot, but on the position of Fairfax and the Scots we have diametrically opposite accounts. As the statement that Lord Fairfax's foot were in the middle and the Scots on their right (in the place usually assigned to Fairfax's men) appears to be best supported by the authorities in general, and most in harmony with the incidents of the battle, it is adopted here.

The Scottish infantry was arrayed in two lines. In the first line were the regiments of the Earl of Lindsay, Lord Maitland, the Earl of Cassilis, and Douglas of Kelhead.[2] Lindsay's regiment formed the extreme right of the line, and next to it stood Maitland's, the first raised in Fifeshire, the second consisting of men levied in Midlothian. Coming from districts in which the Covenanting spirit was strongest and the Government most powerful, they were doubtless more

[1] The evidence that the infantry of Lord Fairfax was in the centre is as follows. Mr. Ashe's *Relation* says: 'General Lesley's foot were on the right hand, the Earle of Manchester's foot were the left hand of the Lord Fairfax his foot who were the body.' Thomas Stockdale's letter to Rushworth makes the same statement: 'The Yorkeshire forces, strengthened with a great party of the Scotts army, having the maine battle, the E. of Manchester's forces the left wing, and the Scotts the right wing.' Stockdale's evidence is of special value, because he was attached to Fairfax's army, and therefore likely to know and state accurately facts concerning it.

This arrangement of the Parliamentary forces is most consistent with the incidents of the battle. (1) Ashe explicitly states that Fairfax's infantry after their first success were driven back by Newcastle's foot. (See p. 48, *note*, *post*.) As Rupert's plan of battle shows, this could scarcely have happened if Fairfax's infantry were on the extreme right of the Parliamentary line, but might very well have happened if they were in the centre. (2) Before the battle began the Parliamentary foot was in full retreat south. When the order to return was issued, the Scots in the van had almost reached Tadcaster, and Manchester's foot were at Marston. Ashe, from whom this statement is taken, does not specify the position of Fairfax's foot; it was probably somewhere between Marston and Tadcaster. Is it not likely that, in drawing up the army for the battle, the relative position of its three component parts was maintained? To place the Scots in the centre, instead of stationing them at the point nearest to Tadcaster, would have lengthened their march and increased the time required for drawing up the army.

[2] That these four regiments were in the first line is stated in the *Full Relation*, on p. 5, and repeated again on p. 6. As this narrative was probably based either on a letter from the Earl of Eglinton, as Mr. Gardiner suggests, or on information from the Scottish officer whose name is on the title-page, its statement on this point may safely be accepted.

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complete in their numbers than other regiments, and certainly, as the battle showed, better disciplined and more efficient.[1] In the second line, or reserve, were the regiments of the Earls of Buccleuch, Loudon, and Dunfermline, Lord Couper's, General Hamilton's Clydesdale regiment, and Colonel Rae's Edinburgh regiment.[2] These ten regiments made up about 8,000 men, and were divided into four or five brigades.[3] The respective brigades seem to have been commanded by the senior colonel of the regiments composing them; while the first line in general was under the command of Lieut.-General Baillie, and the second under Major-General Lumsden.[4] A third of each regiment consisted of pikemen, and the other two-thirds were musketeers.[5]

[1] The list of the Scottish regiments given in Rushworth shows in what districts they were raised, and he prints in italics the names of those amongst the field officers who had seen service on the Continent. Of the discipline of the Scottish army in general, and of the skill of its officers, Sir James Turner gives a very unfavourable report. Visiting Leslie's camp before Newcastle, he says, 'I found the bodies of the men lusty, well clothed, and well moneyed, but raw, untrained, and undisciplined, their officers for most part young and inexperienced' (*Memoirs*, p. 31).

[2] The list of the regiments forming the reserve is also given in the *Full Relation*, which is to some extent confirmed by the first letter in the *Glorious and Miraculous Battel*, which mentions three of the regiments concerned as in the reserve, though apparently placing the regiment of Cassilis in the second line also. From the words used, 'some of Clydesdale's regiment that were in the battle,' it might be inferred that only a portion of that regiment fought at Marston Moor. But it is not improbable that the Edinburgh regiment and the Clydesdale regiment were in charge of the train and posted in a third line.

[3] There is no evidence whether these regiments formed four or five brigades. Watson says in his narrative that the whole Parliamentary infantry consisted of twenty-eight regiments, in twelve brigades. The brigade was usually two regiments, as in the Swedish army, but three or four weak regiments were frequently combined into one brigade. Ashe says: 'Our army . . . divided themselves into brigades consisting of 800, 1,000, 1,200, 15 hundred men in a brigade.' Manchester's army, according to the *Full Relation*, consisted of three brigades, and two brigades of Scots formed Fairfax's reserve; therefore, the seven brigades remaining consisted of Fairfax's army and the main body of the Scots. Of those, two, or at most three, brigades must have been Fairfax's, and five, or perhaps four, the Scots.

[4] *A Full Relation*, p. 5. Hamilton, the general of artillery, is also described as leading on the first line.

[5] See *Memorie of the Somervilles*, ii. 307. Probably the regiments of Fairfax and Manchester were armed with the same proportion of pikes and muskets, but in their case evidence is lacking.

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The centre, under the command of Lord Fairfax, consisted of Fairfax's own foot with a reserve of Scots. His infantry, who were stationed in the first line, formed two brigades, each composed of several regiments.[1] Amongst those present were the regiments of Colonel Bright, Colonel Overton, Lieut.-Colonel Needham, and the Lancashire regiment of Colonel George Dodding.[2] The two brigades probably numbered between 3,000 and 3,500 men.

The two Scottish brigades, which constituted Fairfax's reserve, were probably much about the same strength as the two brigades in front of them, and seem, like them, to have been made up of several small regiments or portions of regiments. Their names are not given in the accounts of the battle, but it is probable that amongst them were Lord Dudhope's regiment of Angus men, the regiment raised by the Scottish clergy,[3] and what was left of Lord Sinclair's

[1] The question of the strength of Lord Fairfax's army is more difficult to determine than in the case of Manchester's army or the Scots. It is possible that Fairfax had more men under his orders than I have suggested, and that he may have had three brigades of his own instead of two. His was the only army which had increased since the siege of York began.

[2] The evidence for the presence of Colonel Bright's regiment is supplied by the *Life of Captain John Hodgson*, who was one of his officers. Unluckily, Hodgson gives no description of the battle. Overton's presence in command of a regiment is affirmed by Milton in a passage in his *Defensio Secunda*, in praise of Overton (Masson's *Life of Milton*, iv. 602). Ashe, in his sixth *Intelligence*, praises Lieut.-Colonel Needham as one of Fairfax's officers who 'did manfully in his place.' Needham was probably lieutenant-colonel of Lord Fairfax's own regiment. Colonel Dodding's regiment lost many men at Marston, according to the author of *A Discourse of the Civil War in Lancashire*, edited by Mr. W. Beamont (p. 50).

[3] The Scottish regiments forming Fairfax's reserve lost considerably. Lord Dudhope was taken prisoner, and died of his wounds (*The Glorious and Miraculous Battel at York;* Fuller, *Worthies*, ii. 536; Spalding, pp. 427, 429). The ministers of Scotland were required to furnish each of them a man, which it was calculated would supply a regiment of a thousand strong; but many neglected to do so, and their regiment, according to Rushworth's list, had only five companies (*ib.* p. 363; Rushworth, v. 605). Its lieutenant-colonel, James Brison, was killed (*The Glorious and Miraculous Battel at York*). As to Lord Sinclair's regiment, five out of the twelve companies composing it had been taken prisoners by Montrose at Morpeth. Lieut.-Colonel Somerville, who returned to the army just before the battle, found the seven companies with the army 'much diminished by the negligence of the captaines, the want of authority and prudence in their major, experience and tyme in their colonell, that had other great concerns

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regiment. As to the commanders of the reserve and first line, under Lord Fairfax, the authorities say nothing.[1]

Manchester's army, which formed the left of the infantry composing the centre of the Parliamentary army, consisted of three brigades under the immediate command of Lawrence Crawford, Manchester's major-general. Of these three brigades, two were in the first line, and the third formed the reserve, or second line.[2] The three brigades numbered, as has been shown, between 4,000 and 5,000 men, probably not more than 4,500, and included six regiments, and perhaps a few odd companies.[3] Compared with the rest of the Parliamentary infantry, they had a certain advantage in position. In the first place, the ground in their front was rather more open.[4] In the second place, owing to the superiority in the number of foot on the side of the Parliament, their line was longer than that of the Royalists, and Crawford's division outflanked the Royalist infantry opposed to them.[5]

The left wing, consisting of all Manchester's horse and dragoons, together with three Scottish regiments and half a

both of the State and armie upon his hands,' so that the regiment 'in a manner was broken' (*Memorie of the Somervilles*, ii. 344). The two Scottish brigades forming Fairfax's reserve were evidently composed of the weaker and less efficient regiments of the Scottish army, which helps to explain their disaster.

[1] According to Sir Clements Markham (*Life of the Great Lord Fairfax*, p. 158), Sir William Fairfax, cousin of Sir Thomas, commanded Lord Fairfax's infantry. But there is no evidence as to the nature of the command held by Sir William, though his letter to his wife, printed in the *Life of Admiral Robert Fairfax*, p. 19), shows he held some command. It is, on the whole, more probable that he served in the cavalry of Sir Thomas Fairfax.

[2] This arrangement of Manchester's brigades is given in *A Full Relation*, p. 5.

[3] The regiments of Manchester, Crawford, Russell, Montagu, Pickering, and Hobart. 'What should I name,' says a letter, 'the brigade of Col. Russell, Col. Montagu, and Col. Pickering, who stood as a wall of brass, and let fly small shot like hail upon the enemy, and not a man of their whole brigade slain?' (*A True Relation of the Late Fight*, &c., p. 7).

[4] 'There was a great ditch between the enemy and us, which ran along the whole front of the battell, only between the Earl of Manchester's foot and the enemy there was a plain' (*A Full Relation*, p. 6).

[5] 'The enemy's number was far above the Prince's, having in the front 1,200 more than he.' News sent from Mr. Ogden (*vide* Appendix of Documents, p. 55). 'General Major Crawford having overwinged the enemy, set upon their flank' (*A Full Relation*, p. 6).

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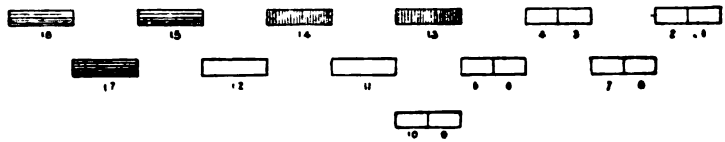
regiment of Scottish dragoons, was under the command of Lieut.-General Cromwell.[1] It was arrayed in three lines, the first and second lines being composed of the regular cavalry of the Eastern Association, numbering between 2,000

DIAGRAM SHOWING THE PROBABLE FORMATION OF THE PARLIAMENTARY INFANTRY AT MARSTON MOOR



1, Lindsay; 2, Maitland: 3, Cassilis; 4, Kelhead 5, Buccleuch; 6, Loudon; 7, Dunfermline; 8, Couper; 9, Clydesdale, 10, Edinburgh; 11 and 12, Scottish brigades forming Fairfax's reserve

Manchester's army
Fairfax's army
Scottish army

and 2,500 men, probably nearer the larger than the smaller number, and the third line, or reserve, being the three Scottish regiments.[2] The Scots were posted in the rear, not only because they were weak in numbers, as their total strength was not more than about 800 men, but also because they were badly mounted.[3] Posted on the flank were the half regiment

[1] The regiments of Cromwell, Manchester, Fleetwood, and Vermuyden. Manchester's regiment was under the command of Algernon Sidney. 'Colonel Sidney, son to the Earl of Leicester, charged with much gallantry in the head of my Lord's regiment of horse, and came off with much honour, though with many wounds (to the grief of my Lord and many others) who is since gone to London for cure of his wounds' (Ashe's *Relation*, No. 6). Harrison, Fleetwood's major, was sent up to London with despatches by Manchester after the battle (Baillie, *Letters*, ii. 209). Vermuyden, who was quartermaster-general of Manchester's army, as well as commander of a regiment, was present at a council of war on July 25, and though his name is not mentioned in the accounts of the battle, there is evidence that his regiment was with Manchester both before and after it.

[2] 'The Scottish horse on the left wing were none of them drawn up in the front that day, nor yet the next reserve' (*i.e.* the second line), 'but as a reserve to the reserve, and being weaker horse than my Lord Manchester's, were designed rather to the chase, if God should so bless us, than to the charge' (Bowles, *Manifest Truths*, p. 30).

[3] Sir Clements Markham gives the strength of the three Scottish regiments as twenty-four troops and 1,440 men. On the other hand, one of the regiments (Kirkcudbright's) consisted of seven instead of eight troops, and another, that of Balcarres, of only six; so that the total was not more than twenty-one troops. David

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of Scottish dragoons under Colonel Frizell, and with them probably Manchester's own regiment of dragoons, making up together a force of 800 or 1,000 dragoons.[1] Cromwell, therefore, had under his command at least 4,000 men, and possibly rather more, of whom three-quarters were regular cavalry. The three regiments of Scots were under the command of Lieut.-General David Leslie, and it is not improbable that he, being Cromwell's second in command, had the direction of the second line as well, though Quartermaster-General Vermuyden would have been its natural leader.

Leslie's own was the only one of the three which had eight troops. Moreover, he has calculated each troop at its nominal strength of 60, making no allowance for the losses of the campaign. As to the horses of the Scots, Lieut.-Colonel Somerville says that the cavalry of his army was 'ill-mounted, except those that came from Ireland, whom the general made his own regiment of horse,' *i.e.* excepting Leven's own regiment, which was commanded at Marston by his son, Lord Balgony. Lord Say, in his comments on the battle, describes David Leslie's regiments as mounted on 'little light Scottish nags (for such they were then, and not such as afterwards they made them out of Sir John Fenwick's breed and our best northern horse, for which they, at their pleasure, would exchange their little Scotch coursers when they came into those parts).' He goes on to add that 'the enemy's horse, being many of them, if not the greatest part, gentlemen, stood very firm a long while, coming to a close fight with the sword, and standing like an iron wall, so that they were not easily broken; if the Scots' light but weak nags had undertaken that work, they had never been able to stand a charge or endure the shock of the enemy's horse, both horse and men being very good, and fighting desperately enough.'

[1] 'Upon their left hand, near a cross ditch, where the enemy had a regiment of foot, was placed the Scottish dragoons, under the command of Colonel Frizell' (*A Full Relation*, p. 5). Manchester's own regiment of dragoons, consisting of five companies, was commanded by Lieut.-Colonel John Lilburne, but Lilburne had been wounded about June 3, and was possibly not present at Marston himself.

Cromwell's horse were formed into squadrons of 300 or 250 apiece. Watson speaks of 'Lieut.-General Cromwell's division of 300 horse, in which himself was in person.' Ashe speaks of 'our brigades of horse, consisting some of three and some of four troops.' It should be remembered that the troop in Manchester's army consisted of 100 men, and there must have been a considerable number of troops nearly up to their nominal strength, judging by the occasional muster-rolls which have been preserved. Slingsby describes Cromwell's horse as 'drawn into five bodies' (*Diary*, p. 113). Presumably he refers to the first line, which may thus have consisted of five bodies of 300 to 250 men apiece, making between 1,250 and 1,500 men.

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III

In describing the course of the battle I shall confine myself principally to the doings of Cromwell and the horse under his command; but in order to make their action clear it is necessary to give some account of what happened in other parts of the field. It is also necessary to discuss in some detail certain disputed questions concerning Cromwell's tactics, and concerning the movements of the different divisions of the two armies. Having no pretensions to any technical knowledge of military matters, all I can do is to collect and weigh the evidence, and draw what seem to me the most probable conclusions, leaving those who possess that knowledge to judge whether the actions described are possible or improbable. Fortunately, a German military writer, Colonel Fritz Hoenig, published in 1888 a Life of Cromwell which contains a study of his tactics at Marston Moor. His commentary is based on Mr. Gardiner's account of the battle, and I shall endeavour to give the substance of his criticisms and explanations of Cromwell's tactics, while omitting what seems erroneous or contradicted by the authorities.

The first point on which Colonel Hoenig insists is, that when the battle began all the advantages of position were on Rupert's side. The open ground to the north of the ditch, where Rupert's right wing was posted, was admirably fitted for the employment of large masses of cavalry. Rupert had not the least obstacle in that part of the field, and could move his cavalry freely on all sides. Cromwell, on the other hand, could not get to this open ground without crossing the hedge and ditch, an obstacle which his horsemen could not cross in close formation or in fighting order, nor could it be jumped.[1] Moreover, when Cromwell had once passed this obstacle, he was obliged to conquer, or his troops would be annihilated in

[1] On the nature of this obstacle see p. 33, note 1. Watson describes it as 'a small ditch and a bank.' Ashe terms it a 'hedge and ditch.'

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trying to recross it. Accordingly, says Colonel Hoenig, Cromwell must have made part of his cavalry cross the ditch in open order, and the other part go round it, with instructions to reform when they reached the other side.

Of this manœuvre, however, the authorities are silent. All they tell us is that Cromwell's advance was preceded by an attack of the dragoons under his command, who cleared the hedge of the musketeers Rupert had stationed there;[1] and its success was also facilitated, according to the Royalist accounts, by Lord Byron, who made a premature attack on Cromwell's horse, throwing away thereby the advantage of his superior position, and engaging his men in difficult ground, where they were disordered and defeated.[2] Parliamentary authorities, however, say nothing of this countercharge or its results. The only detailed account of Cromwell's advance is that given by Scoutmaster-General Watson.

[1] 'The Scottish dragoons that were placed upon that wing, by the good management of Colonel Frizell, acted their part so well that at the first assault they beat the enemy from the ditch, and shortly after killed a great many, and put the rest to rout' (*A Full Relation*, p. 9). Manchester's dragoons no doubt assisted the Scots in this service, though they are not mentioned.

[2] This is mentioned by three Royalist writers. The *Life of James II.* says: 'The day in all probability had been the King's, if the Lord Biron had punctually obeyed his orders, for Prince Rupert had posted him very advantageously behind a warren and a slough, with positive command not to quit his ground, but in that posture only to expect and to receive there the charge of the enemy; who must of necessity be much disordered in passing over to him, as being to receive the fire of 700 musketiers in their advance to him, which undoubtedly had been very dangerous, if not ruinous, to them. But instead of maintaining his post, as he ought in duty to have done, when the enemy had only drawn down two or three field-pieces, and with them played upon him, he suffered himself to be persuaded by Colonel Hurry to march over the morass and charge them, by which inconsiderate action he gave them the same advantage which he had formerly over them; for they charging him in his passage over the ground already mentioned, he was immediately routed' (i. 22).

A similar statement is made in the notes which Warburton terms *Rupert's Diary*. 'The Prince drew his forces into a strong position, making his post as strong as possibly he could. Lord Biron then made a charge upon Cromwell's forces. [Represent here the posture the Prince put the forces in, and how by the improper charge of the Lord Biron much harm was done]' (Warburton, ii. 468).

'A right valiant Lord severed (and in some sort secured) with a ditch from the enemy, did not attend till foe forced their way unto him, but gave his men the trouble to pass over the ditch; the occasion of much disorder' (Fuller, *Worthies*, ii. 536).

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'We came down the hill in the bravest order, and with the greatest resolution that ever was seen (I mean the left wing of our horse, led by Cromwell). . . . Our front divisions of horse charged their front. Lieutenant-Generall Cromwell's division of 300, in which himselfe was in person, charged the first division of Prince Rupert's, in which himself was in person. The rest of ours charged other divisions of theirs, but with such admirable valour as it was to the astonishment of all the old soldiers of the army. Cromwell's own division had a hard pull of it; for they were charged by Rupert's bravest men both in front and flank; they stood at the sword's point a pretty while, hacking one another; but at last (it so pleased God) he brake through them, scattering them before him like a little dust. At the same instant the rest of our horse of that wing had wholly broken all Prince Rupert's horse on their right wing, and were in the chase of them beyond their left wing.'

The struggle, however, was evidently longer and more doubtful than Watson's narrative suggests. After Rupert's first line had been broken [1] the Prince himself, absent in the rear when the battle began, came up, and, rallying his men, engaged Cromwell at the head of the second line.[2] Cromwell was hard pressed, and his troops were thrown into some dis-

[1] Cromwell evidently came first into collision with the extreme right of the Royalist horse. Byron's regiment, if we credit the statements contained in the preceding note, was defeated at the very beginning of the fight, and Urry's, the one next to it in the line, was routed at the same time. Urry's own troop, according to Sir Hugh Cholmley, 'were the first that turned their backs' (*English Historical Review*, 1890, p. 348).

[2] 'When the alarum was given he [Rupert] was set upon the earth at meat a pretty distance from his troops, and many of the horsemen were dismounted, and laid upon the ground with their horses in their hands. . . . Upon the alarum the Prince mounted to horse, and galloping up to the right wing met his own regiment turning their backs to the enemy, which was a thing so strange and unusual he said, "'S wounds, do you run; follow me"; so they facing about, he led them to a charge, but fruitlessly, the enemy having before broken the force of that wing, and without any great difficulty' ('Cholmley's Narrative,' *Engl. Historical Review*, 1890, p. 348). Rupert was probably somewhere about the spot where the plan places his guard, and doubtless brought his guard and Widdrington's brigade with him to the aid of the right wing. The second line must have been broken before he arrived, if it is true that he met his own regiment flying. See the plan.

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order, though they did not break or fly.[1] A charge made by David Leslie upon Rupert's flank relieved Cromwell's division and irretrievably routed the Royalist horse.[2]

Colonel Hoenig's explanation of Cromwell's tactics is as follows: After crossing the ditch, he says, Cromwell threw his first line on Rupert's cavalry, while his second line followed in the rear of the first, but further to the left ('das erste links ueberragend'). Rupert, whose first regiment was beaten, regained his presence of mind, in spite of the surprise, and threw himself with his whole force on Cromwell's first line, so that Cromwell's attack was brought to a stand. In the *mêlée* Cromwell was wounded, and for a moment his first line was in danger of being routed; but the danger did not last long. Rupert had put in his whole force to the relief of the beaten regiment, and he had no reserves left; now, while Cromwell's first line was being driven back, his second line, under David Leslie, fell upon the rear and the right flank of Rupert's cavalry and brought the whole mass to a standstill. At this very instant Cromwell ordered his retreating first line to face about ('für sein erstes Treffen front blasen lies') and renew the attack, and so Rupert's cavalry were completely routed and swept off the field. This manœuvre is one of the prettiest and hardest in offensive tactics and a further proof of the high efficiency of Cromwell's horsemen.

Cromwell and Leslie did not allow their victorious regiments to leave the field in pursuit of Rupert's flying horse.[3]

[1] This check is not mentioned either by Watson or by Ashe. Ashe says merely that General Cromwell 'with much gallantry charged through and through, and routed two of the bravest brigades of horse in the enemie's right wing.' Stockdale, however, describes Manchester's horse as routing one body of the enemy, and then adds: 'Yet after a little time the Earl of Manchester's horse were repulsed by fresh supplies of the enemies, and forced to retreat in some disorder' (p. 59).

[2] Leslie's charge is mentioned in the *Full Relation*, which says, 'he charged the enemie's horse (with whom L. Generall Cromwell was engaged) upon the flanke, and in a very short space the enemie's whole cavalry was routed' (p. 9). The story is repeated in a different form by Baillie: 'They ascribe to him (Cromwell) the victorie of Yorke; but most unjustlie; for Humbie assures us, that Prince Rupert's first charge falling on him, did humble him so, that if David Lesley had not supported him he had fled.'

[3] Sir Hugh Cholmley says: 'The enemy, keeping close and firm together in a

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According to Colonel Hoenig's view, Cromwell collected his own cavalry, and reformed them with their front to the east instead of to the north, contenting himself by sending a few squadrons to prevent the beaten Royalists from rallying. This view is borne out by the authorities, and it is probable that the squadrons in question consisted of the three Scottish regiments forming Cromwell's third line.[1]

Meantime, on the right wing of the Parliamentary army and in the centre the fortune had turned against the Parliamentarians, and the battle seemed irreparably lost.

When Cromwell's and Manchester's cavalry attacked Rupert's horse, Manchester's infantry on their right assaulted Rupert's foot with equal vigour and success. They crossed the ditch, driving before them the musketeers Rupert had stationed there, and captured four of his guns.[2] Further to

body after they had routed the Prince's right wing, though in that for the active part it is most to be imputed to Cromwell and his horse, yet it is thought the ordering and advice to do so came from David Lesley, an experienced old soldier.' Cholmley gives this as one of the chief reasons for the Parliamentary victory. Lord Say describes Cromwell as 'taking special care to see it observed that the regiments of horse, when they had broken a regiment of the enemie's, should not divide, and in pursuit of the enemie break their order, but keep themselves still together in bodies to charge the other regiments of the enemy which stood firm' (*The Scots' Designe Discovered*, p. 80). 'Our fore troops did execution to the walls of York, but our body of horse kept their ground' (*A Full Relation*).

[1] This is implied by Bowles (*Manifest Truths*, p. 30), and expressly stated by Lord Say. 'Herein indeed was the good service David Lesley did that day with his little light Scotch nags . . . that when a regiment of the enemie's was broken he then fell in and followed the chase, doing execution upon them, and keeping them from rallying again and getting into bodies' (*The Scots' Designe Discovered*, p. 80).

[2] 'General Major Crawford, having overwinged the enemy, fell upon their flank, and did very good execution upon the enemy, which gave occasion to the Scottish foot to advance and pass the ditch' (*Full Relation*, p. 6). 'Upon the advancing of the Earl of Manchester's foot, after short firings on both sides, we caused the enemy to quit the hedge in a disorderly manner, where they left behind them four drakes' (Ashe). 'All the Earl of Manchester's foot, being three brigades, began the charge with their bodies against the Marquis of Newcastle's and Prince Rupert's bravest foot. In a moment we were past the ditch into the moor, upon equal grounds with the enemy, our men going in a running march.' This last sentence has been generally taken by modern writers to refer to Cromwell's cavalry, to whom Watson previously refers: 'We came down the hill.' Rushworth in his account quotes it as referring to the foot, and the phrase 'running march' seems more appropriate as describing infantry.

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the right, Fairfax's infantry advanced also, and at first met with equal good fortune. But Newcastle's white-coated infantry were posted in the second line of the Royalists, and a counter-attack from them drove Fairfax's men back in some disorder. Ere long this repulse became a rout.[1] Sir Thomas Fairfax and the right wing of the Parliamentary horse had found the task of debouching upon the moor and attacking Goring's horse almost impossible. 'The whins and ditches we were to pass over before we could get to the enemy put us into great disorder,' writes Fairfax. Another narrative speaks of a narrow lane, held by the Royalists, through which Fairfax's men had to force their way. Sir Thomas succeeded in getting some 400 horse drawn up on the open ground, with whom he charged the portion of the Royalist horse opposed to them. 'We were a long time engaged with one another; but at last we routed that part of their wing. We charged, and pursued them a good way towards York.' But this success was only

[1] Stockdale says that when the battle began the Lord Fairfax's foot gained ground of the enemie's foot 'in the main battle,' but that after a little time the 'Lord Fairfax foot and the Scots that were joined with them pursuing their advantage were charged by the enemy's horse and so disordered that they were forced to fly back and leave our advance behind them, and many of our horse were also repulsed by the enemy, which coming up in disorder on all sides, did so daunt the spirits of the reserves that had not been engaged that many fled away without ever striking blow' (p. 75, *post*). The *Full Relation* (p. 7) attributes the rout of Fairfax's infantry entirely to the defeat of their own horse. Sir Thomas's new levied regiments 'wheeled about, and being hotly pursued by the enemy came back upon the Lord Fairfax foot and the reserve of the Scottish foot, broke them wholly, and trod the most part of them under foot.' Ashe is much more explicit and intelligible. 'The Lord Fairfax his brigade on our right hand (*i.e.* on the right hand of Manchester's foot) did also beat off the enemy from the hedges before them, driving them from their cannon, being two drakes and one demi-culvering, but being afterwards received by Marquesse Newcastle's regiment of foot, and being by them furiously assaulted, did make a retreat in some disorder. This advantage being espyed by a body of the enemie's horse, they charged through them unto the top of the hill. But one regiment of the Earl of Manchester's foot, seeing the enemy, both horse and foot, pursuing an advantage, did wheele on the right hand upon their flank and gave them so hot a charge that they were forced to flie back disbanded unto the moore.' If Fairfax's infantry was posted on the right wing, as the modern accounts tell us, it would have been impossible for Manchester's regiments to cover their retreat in this way. The body of the enemy's horse referred to was probably Sir William Blakiston's division, or perhaps one of Goring's regiments.

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temporary. The rest of his first line and his supports, attacked while disordered and only half-formed, were routed and driven from the field. When he returned to look for them, he found the ground where he had left them occupied by the Royalists.[1] Part of Fairfax's horse fled back by the way by which they came, pursued by Goring's horse. Another part, seeking to escape, fled in a westerly direction across the Moor, and were driven upon Lord Fairfax's disordered foot, which they broke and trampled down. The two Scottish brigades forming Lord Fairfax's reserve were thrown into confusion and joined in the flight. Some of Goring's horse pursued the fugitives for about two miles from the field. Others drove off the baggage guard, and plundered the wagons and carriages belonging to the Parliamentary army. Leven and Lord Fairfax, thinking the battle lost, left the field, one making his way to Leeds, the other to Hull.

The rout of Fairfax's horse, followed as it was almost immediately by the breaking of the Parliamentary centre,

[1] The account which Fairfax gives in his *Short Memorial* is supplemented by a note which he wrote in a copy of Fuller's *Worthies*, correcting a statement about the battle. This note is reprinted in the *Antiquarian Repertory*, iii. 31, ed. 1808, and in Arber's edition of the *Short Memorial* (*English Garner*, viii. 608). Bowles, in his *Manifest Truths*, published in 1646, gives the following account:—'The right wing, commanded by Sir Thomas Fairfax, was disordered, for he had among other disadvantages these two especial: first, the worst part of the ground, being so full of whinnes as that his horse could not march up, and was next the hedges possessed by the enemy. Secondly, he had also many newly raised horse which had never seen service, who did not play the part of reserves as became them, so that after his own regiment and Colonel Lambert's had charged with valour and good success, for want of supplies that wing was wholly routed' (p. 7).

The *Full Relation* is still more specific. 'The right wing of our horse [misprinted 'foot' in the original] had several misfortunes, for betwixt them and the enemy there was no passage but at a narrow lane, where they could not march above three or four in front; upon the one side of the lane was a ditch, and on the other an hedge, both whereof were lined with musketiers. Notwithstanding Sir Thomas Fairfax charged gallantly, but the enemy, keeping themselves in a body, and receiving them by threes and fours as they marched out of the lane, and (by what mistake I know not) Sir Thomas Fairfax his newly levied regiments being in the van, they wheeled about,' &c. (p. 6). Fairfax, in his note on Fuller, says that those troops of his who charged 'took Goring's major-general prisoner,' referring to Major-General George Porter, who had a command on the left wing under his brother-in-law, Goring. See *Mercurius Aulicus*, July 13.

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seemed as if it would inevitably result in a like disaster to the Scottish infantry on the right. Baillie and the Scots had advanced with the rest of the line, successfully passed the ditch, and attacked the first line of the Royalist infantry.[1] But now, while engaged in front with Rupert's foot, both their flanks were laid bare by the defeat of the centre and the cavalry of the right wing.[2] Some of the Scottish regiments nearest to the centre, seeing Lord Fairfax's foot flying in disorder, gave way, and broke, without waiting to be seriously attacked.[3] But at least half the ten regiments under Baillie stood firm;[4] and on the extreme right, the regiments of

[1] 'In this ditch,' says the *Full Relation*, 'the enemy had placed four brigades of their best foot, which upon the advance of our battell were forced to give ground, being gallantly assaulted by the Earl of Lindsay's regiment, the Lord Maitland's, Cassilis' and Kelhead's.' It goes on to explain that it was the success of Crawford's and Manchester's foot which 'gave occasion to the Scots to advance and pass the ditch.'

[2] 'The three Scots regiments of horse forming Sir Thomas Fairfax's reserve had been routed, as well as the main body of his cavalry. The Scots horse also on that side quit the field, and left the Earl of Lindsay's regiment standing bare' (Bowles, *Manifest Truths*, p. 7). 'Sir Thomas Fairfax, Colonel Lambert, and Sir Thomas his brother, with five or six troops, charged through the enemy, and went to the left wing of horse; the two squadrons of Balgonie's regiment being divided by the enemy each from the other, one of them being lanciers charged a regiment of the enemie's foot, and put them wholly to the rout, and after joined with the left wing of horse, the other by another way went also to the left wing; the Earl of Eglington's regiment maintained their ground (most of the enemies going on in the pursuit of the horse and foot that fled), but with the loss of four lieutenants, the lieutenant-colonel, the major, and Eglington's son being deadly wounded' (*A Full Relation*, p. 7). 'Lord Eglintown commanded our horse there [*i.e.* on the right wing], who shewed himself most valiantly, his son relieving his father, who was far ingagded, is sore wounded' (*The Glorious and Miraculous Battel at York*).

[3] The letter from a Scottish officer before referred to (p. 22, note 2), writing apparently to Lord Loudon, says: 'These that ran away shew themselves most basely. I, commanding the battel [*i.e.* brigade], was on the head of your Lordship's regiment and Buccleuche's, but they carried themselves not so as I could have wished, neither could I prevail with them; for these that fled, never came to charge with the enemy, but were so possesst with a panatick fear, that they ran for an example to others, and no enemie following them, which gave the enemy to charge them they intended not, and they had only the losse' (*The Glorious and Miraculous Battel*).

[4] The regiments which stood their ground were those of Lindsay Maitland, Cassilis, Couper, Dunfermline, and some of the Clydesdale regiment. 'These briggads that failyied of the van,' says the officer quoted in the last note, 'were

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Lindsay and Maitland held their ground with splendid courage and persistency. Their musketry kept back the Royalist foot, while their pikemen repulsed three charges which the Royalist horse made upon them. In the last of these charges Sir Charles Lucas, who commanded Goring's second line, was unhorsed and taken prisoner.[1]

presently supplied by Cassel's, Cowper, Dunfermling, and some of Clydesdale's regiment who were on the battel, and gained what they had lost.' This author seems to place the regiment of Cassilis in the second line, whereas the *Full Relation* puts it in the first, and probably is correct in doing so. Kelhead's regiment, which was in the first line, and next to that of Cassilis, seems to have given way, and as the Scottish baggage was thoroughly plundered, the regiment guarding it must have taken to flight also.

[1] Ashe says, vaguely, that on the right wing 'our horse were beaten back: and although the Scots musquettiers had fired there most bravely and to good purpose to the dissipating of the enemie's foot, yet their horse there stood still in great bodies.' He gives no details about the Scottish regiments, saying merely, 'Many of the Scots, both commanders and others, did singular good service, and stood to it stoutly unto the end of the day, amongst whom the Earl of Lindsay deserves great honour.' Watson describes the Royalist cavalry as completely successful against the Parliamentary right, 'utterly routing all our horse and foot, so that there was not a man left standing before them.' Stockdale's statement is: 'The Scots foot that fought in the right wing did most of them retire from their ground except the Earl of Lindsay's regiment.' 'They that fought stood extraordinar well to it, whereof my Lord Lindsay's briggad, being commanded by himself, was one,' says the letter in *The Glorious and Miraculous Battel at York.* The *Full Relation* gives more details, and after relating the defeat of the Scottish cavalry, (p. 34, note 2), continues: 'Sir Charles Lucas and General Major Porter, having thus divided all our horse on that wing, assaulted the Scottish foot upon their flanks, so that they had the foot upon their front, and the whole cavalry of the enemie's left wing to fight with, whom they encountered with so much courage and resolution that, having enterlined their musquetiers with pikemen, they made the enemie's horse, notwithstanding all the assistance they had of their foot, at two several assaults to give ground; and in this hot dispute with both they continued almost an houre, still maintaining their ground; Lieut.-Generall Baily and Generall Major Lumsdain (who both gave good evidence of their courage and skill), perceiving the greatest weight of the battell to lie sore upon the Earl of Linsie's and Lord Maitland's regiment, sent up a reserve for their assistance, after which the enemie's horse, having made a third assault upon them, had almost put them in some disorder; but that the E. of Lindsey and Lieut.-Colonell Pitscotti, Lieut.-Col. to the Lord Maitland's regiment, behaved themselves so gallantly that they quickly made the enemie's horse to retreat, killed Sir Charles Lucas his horse, tooke him prisoner, and gained ground upon the foote.' The repulse and capture of Lucas by the Scottish foot is also mentioned by Bowles, and in the *Glorious and Miraculous Battel at York.* It is evident from these different accounts that it was not the flight of Lord Fairfax's foot, but the defeat of

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The news of the defeat of the cavalry of the Parliamentary right wing was brought to Cromwell either by Sir Thomas Fairfax himself or some of the officers under him who had succeeded in breaking through the Royalist horse when the rest of their comrades were routed.[1] He learnt also (probably from Crawford) of the disaster which had overtaken the Parliamentary centre, and of the peril of the Scottish infantry under Baillie on the right.[2] The possibility of restoring the fortune of the day depended entirely on the action of Manchester's army—the only portion of the joint Parliamentary army still unbroken, with the exception of five or six regiments of Scots still struggling to hold their ground. At this moment the position of Cromwell and his horse seems to have been well to the north of the battlefield, somewhat behind the position formerly occupied by Rupert's cavalry, and rather more to the east. Between them and York, more to the east, and behind the position formerly occupied by Goring and the Royalist left, was a confused mass of horse belonging to Rupert's right, too much broken to rally, yet not willing entirely to abandon the neighbourhood of the field and re-enter York.[3] Crawford's and Manchester's foot,

the right wing of horse, which exposed Lindsay's regiment to the attack of Goring's cavalry, and, therefore, that it must have been posted on the extreme right.

[1] See Fairfax's *Short Memorial*; Arber's *Garner*, viii. 608.

[2] This seems to be a fair inference from the conversation between Crawford and Cromwell reported by Holles (see p. 58, note 1), and from the relative position of the forces engaged. It is evident that Crawford, at a critical moment in the history of the battle, brought Cromwell some information which materially affected his movements. One of the regiments under Crawford's command was, according to Ashe, engaged with the cavalry attacking the routed infantry of the Parliamentary centre.

[3] Watson's narrative, after relating Cromwell's victory over the Royalist right, describes 'our horse,' as 'in the chase of them beyond their left wing.' Wilstrop Wood, lying directly in their original rear, obliged the Royalist horse to retreat in an easterly direction. 'They fly along by Wilstrop Woodside,' says Sir Henry Slingsby (*Diary*, p. 113). This is confirmed by the narrative of Sir Philip Monckton, who, charging with the Royalist left wing, and being left behind owing to the loss of his horse, found himself among the fugitives from the Royalist right :—

'At the battle of Hessy Moor I had my horse shot under me as I caracoled at the head of the body I commanded, and so near the enemy that I could not be

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pressing home their attack on the flank of the Royalist infantry, had advanced nearly as far as Cromwell's horse.[1]

By Cromwell's orders the whole of Manchester's army, both horse and foot, wheeling eastwards, advanced across the Moor. On the northern edge of the battlefield Crawford was charged to relieve the Scots by attacking the infantry engaged with them, while Cromwell and Leslie with the horse engaged the cavalry of the Royalist left. At the approach of Manchester's horse Lucas's cavalry stopped their attack on the Scots and turned to face Cromwell, and Goring's horsemen streamed back from the hill, relinquishing the chase and the half-plundered baggage-wagons. But, met by Cromwell's disciplined and well-ordered horse, they were routed at the very place where they themselves had overthrown Fairfax's cavalry. The only detailed account of this final conflict is that contained in Watson's narrative:

'Just then came our horse and foot from the chase of their

mounted again, but charged on foot, and beat Sir Hugh Bethell's regiment of horse, who was wounded and dismounted, and my servant brought me his horse. When I was mounted upon him the wind driving the smoke so as I could not see what was become of the body I commanded, which went in pursuit of the enemy, I retired over the glen, where I saw a body of some two thousand horse that were broken, which as I endeavoured to rally, I saw Sir John Hurrey, major-general to the Prince, come galloping through the glen. I rid to him and told him, that there were none in that great body, but they knew either himself or me, and that if he would help me to put them in order, we might regain the field. He told me, broken horse would not fight, and galloped from me towards York. I returned to that body. By that time it was night, and Sir Marmaduke Langdale having had those bodies he commanded broken, came to me, and we staid in the field until twelve o'clock at night, when Sir John Hurrey came, by order of the Prince to command me to retire to York.'

In the version of Monckton's narrative printed in the *Annual Register*, 1805, pp. 884–5, the name of the officer Monckton refers to is printed 'Hussey,' but the correction is obvious and certain.

[1] After describing the success of Cromwell and the cavalry, Watson adds: 'Our foot on the right hand of us (being only the Earl of Manchester's foot) went on by our side, dispersing the enemie's foot almost as fast as they charged them, still going by our side cutting them down, so that we carried the whole field before us.' Watson insists throughout on the co-operation of Manchester's foot under Crawford with the horse under Cromwell, both in the beginning and in the end of the fight. According to him, they advanced together, marched with the horse across the moor, and charged again by their side in the final struggle. This helps to explain Crawford's claim that he won the battle, not Cromwell.

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right wing, and seeing the business not well in our right, came in very good order to a second charge with all the enemie's horse and foot that had disordered our right and main battle. And here came the business of the day (nay, almost of the kingdom) to be disputed upon this second charge.

'The enemy seeing us come in such a gallant posture to charge them, left all thought of pursuit, and began to think that they must fight again for that victory which they thought had been already got. They marching down the hill upon us from our carriages; so that they fought upon the same ground and with the same front that our right wing had before stood to receive their charge;[1] and wee stood in the same ground and with the same front which they had when they began the charge. Our three brigades of the Earle of Manchester's being on our right hand. On we went with great resolution, charging them so home, one while their horse, and then again their foot, and our foot and horse seconding each other with such valour made them flie before us, that it was hard to say which did the better our horse or foot. Major-Generall Lesley seeing us thus pluck a victory out of the enemie's hands, professed Europe had no better soldiers.

'To conclude, about nine of the clock we had cleared the field of all enemies, recovered the ordnance and ammunition, and followed the chase of them within a mile of York, cutting them down so that their dead bodies lay three miles in length.'

Watson's narrative appears to represent the attack on the Royalist horse and the Royalist foot as simultaneous, but from other accounts it is plain that the rout of the infantry did not take place till the cavalry had been driven from the field.[2]

[1] The *Full Relation* says 'Lieut.-Generall Cromwell and Major-Generall Lesley . . . met with the enemie's horse (being retreated upon the repulse they had from the Scottish foot) at the same place of disadvantage where they had routed our horse formerly.'

[2] 'After which (*i.e.* the rout of Goring's horse) we set upon the reare of their foot and with the assistance of our main battell, which all this time stood firme, we put them wholly to the route' (*A Full Relation*).

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The last to make a stand were Newcastle's division of Whitecoats, who, taking shelter in some enclosed ground, repulsed one assault after another, and were only overcome when musketeers and dragoons made a way for the horse to enter the enclosure and cut them down.[1]

Colonel Hoenig, in his remarks on the battle, joins issue with Mr. Gardiner on the question of Cromwell's conduct in the second part of the battle. Mr. Gardiner, he says, wrongly represents Cromwell as dividing his force and leaving Leslie with one part of his cavalry to deal with Newcastle's foot, whilst

[1] On the Whitecoats, so called because they were dressed in undyed cloth, see *Life of the Duke of Newcastle*, ed. 1886, pp. 79, 157, 158. Lilly, in his *Diary*, p. 178, ed. 1822, gives the following story of their stand, on the authority of one of Cromwell's soldiers: 'This sole regiment, after the day was lost, having got into a small parcel of ground ditched in, and not of easy access of horse, would take no quarter, and by mere valour for one whole hour kept the troops of horse from entering amongst them at near push of pike; when the horse did enter they would have no quarter, but fought it out till there was not thirty of them living; those whose hap it was to be beaten down upon the ground, as the troopers came near them, though they could not rise for their wounds, yet were so desperate as to get either a pike or sword a piece of them, and to gore the troopers' horses as they came over them or passed them by. Captain Camby, then a trooper under Cromwell and an actor, who was the third or fourth man that entered in amongst them, protested he never, in all the fights he was in, met such resolute brave fellows, or whom he pitied so much, and said he saved two or three of them against their wills.' Somerville's account of the battle is confused as to the order of events. He places the attack on the Whitecoats before the defeat of Goring's horse. The Whitecoats, he says, resisted the charges of Cromwell's and Leslie's horse, 'peppering them soundly with their shot,' and then, 'when they came to charge, stoutly bore them up with their picks, that they could not enter to break them .... until at length a Scots regiment of dragonnes, commanded by Collonell Frizeall, with other two, was brought to open them upon some hand, which at length they did. When all their ammunition was spent, haveing refused quarters, every man fell in the same order and rank wherein he had foughten' (*Memorie of the Somervilles*, ii. 347). According to Somerville, 'this gallant battalione consisted neer of 4,000 foot,' *i.e.* the Whitecoats were not one of Newcastle's regiments, but the whole body of his infantry. The Duchess of Newcastle, while styling them the Duke's own regiment, makes them consist of 3,000 men. In the *Full Relation* it is said: 'Generall Major Lesley charged the Earl of Newcastle's brigade of Whitecoats and cut them wholly off, some few excepted who were taken prisoners, and after them charged a brigade of Greencoats, whereof they cut off a great number, and put the rest to the rout' (p. 9). The compiler makes this occur at the beginning of the battle, before Cromwell had routed the horse of the Royalist right, which is obviously impossible. See the remarks on this tract in the section on the authorities (p. 66).

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he himself with the other part went to fight Goring's cavalry.[1] There were, therefore, two simultaneous attacks made by the cavalry, and while Leslie was making an end of the Whitecoats, Cromwell was routing the Northern horse. It is incontestable, observes Colonel Hoenig, that such a proceeding was possible, but Cromwell was such a skilful tactician that there are weighty reasons against the theory that he adopted this course. His first argument is that Cromwell's words, in his letter to Colonel Walton, are opposed to such a view. Cromwell says there: 'The left wing, which I commanded, beat all the Prince's horse,' meaning thereby Rupert's left wing as well as his right wing. Then, in a later sentence, Cromwell adds: 'We charged their regiments of foot with our horse and routed all we charged,' clearly implying that the attack on the foot was posterior in point of time to the attack on the horse.[2] Colonel Hoenig's second argument is that Cromwell's habitual tactics contradict Mr. Gardiner's view of his action. Cromwell, he says, was as prudent as he was bold. He never worked with divided forces. He always kept all his force in hand, and employed it as a whole for the tactical end he wished to attain. And when he had attained one object, he fixed his gaze on the next, and again put forth his whole strength to attain that. Moreover, Cromwell always assured himself of the support of a second line for any unfavourable turn in a cavalry fight; and, lastly, he invariably attacked infantry in a different manner from cavalry. To suppose that in this case Cromwell deliberately gave his second line out of his hands in order to send it against hitherto victorious infantry,

[1] Mr. Gardiner's words are: 'Sending a party to follow up Rupert's flying squadrons, and leaving David Leslie to deal with the Whitecoats, whilst Crawford supported Baillie, he betook himself to the lane's end through which Fairfax had emerged' (*Great Civil War*, i. 381).

[2] This interpretation of Cromwell's letter (No. xxi. in Carlyle) seems to me to be correct, though it would be absurd to press too far the words of a letter which is not an official despatch, but a mere letter of condolence. Colonel Hoenig, however, makes his case more convincing than it would otherwise appear by translating the second passage, and inserting a 'then' which is not in the original: 'Dann attackirten wir seine Regimenter zu Fuss' (*Oliver Cromwell*, von Fritz Hoenig, ii. 450).

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and did that before he had beaten Goring's hitherto victorious cavalry, contradicts in every point Cromwell's habitual tactics. Therefore the course of events must have been this: Cromwell beat Goring first, probably contenting himself with keeping Newcastle's foot under observation; and then, when he had beaten Goring, turned his whole force against the infantry (with the exception of the pursuing squadrons), and attacked the infantry both in front and flank at once.[1] On the whole, this view seems not only more in harmony with the probabilities of the case, but more in harmony with the statements contained in the authorities than the view which Colonel Hoenig criticises.[2]

In summing up his criticisms, Colonel Hoenig concludes that no cavalry leader ever accomplished with so small a force such great and varied tasks as Cromwell did at Marston Moor, and that the history of war offers no example of the leading of cavalry which can compare with it.[3] But the battle was hardly over before a dispute began on the question how far the success of the horsemen under Cromwell's command was really due to Cromwell, or how much it was really due to the counsel and the agency of David Leslie.[4] Circum-

[1] Hoenig, *Cromwell*, i. 451-2.

[2] The only passage in the authorities which clearly describes Leslie as attacking Newcastle's infantry before Goring's horse had been routed is the passage in the *Full Relation* quoted p. 55, note 1. This is contradicted by another passage in the same pamphlet, quoted p. 54, note 2. Watson's narrative of the last part of the battle is too ambiguous to throw much light on the question. He seems, however, to describe Manchester's foot under Crawford as attacking the Royalist infantry in the rear at the same time that Cromwell attacked Goring's horse, and the cavalry as finally aiding the foot to dispose of the Royalist infantry.

[3] Hoenig, ii. 453. The author erroneously describes Cromwell as having only 39 squadrons at his disposal. In reality he had between 50 and 60 troops, exclusive of the dragoons.

[4] The dispute arose from the dissatisfaction of the Scottish Commissioners and others in London with the first published accounts of the battle. 'We were both grieved and angry,' writes Baillie on July 16, 'that your Independents there should have sent up Major Harrison to trumpett all over the city their own praises, to our prejudice, making all believe that Cromwell alone, with his unspeakablie valorous regiments, had done all that service; that the most of us fled, and who stayed, they fought so and so, as it might be.' Even 'good Mr. Ashe's relation,' he complains, 'gives much more to Cromwell than we are informed is his due,' though Ashe in reality says very little of Cromwell. Then

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stantial stories were circulated asserting that Cromwell was not even present during the latter part of the battle, having quitted the field in consequence of a slight wound received during the first charge.[1] By 1646 it had become almost an

sending another account, apparently Watson's, to his correspondent, Baillie adds: 'See by this inclosed, if the whole victorie both in the right and left wing be not ascribed to Cromwell, and not a word of David Lesley, who in all places that day was his leader' (Baillie's *Letters*, ed. Laing, ii. 209).

[1] Watson's narrative is the first to mention the wound. 'Lieutenant-Generall Cromwell, the great agent in this victory,' he writes, 'hath received a slight wound in the neck.' On August 10, 1644, Baillie tells the story of Cromwell's leaving the field in consequence of it. 'Skeldon Crawford, who had a regiment of dragoons in that wing, upon his oath assured me that at the beginning of the fight Cromwell got a little wound on the craige, which made him retire, so that he was not so much as present at the service; but his troopers were led on by David Lesley' (Baillie, ii. 218). William Crawford, of Nether Skeldon, the person referred to, was Lieutenant-Colonel of Frizell's dragoons. In the *Memoirs of Denzil Holles*, written in 1648, but not published till 1699, a similar story is told, on the authority of Major-General Lawrence Crawford. Speaking of Marston Moor, Holles says: 'However, Lieutenant-General Cromwell had the impudence and boldness to assume much of the honour to himself, or rather, Herod-like, to suffer others to magnify him and adore him for it . . . Those who did the principal service that day were Major-General Lesley, . . . Major-General Crawford, . . . Fairfax. . . . But my friend Cromwell had neither part nor lot in the business. For I have several times heard it from Crawford's own mouth that when the whole army at Marston Moor was in a fair possibility to be utterly routed, and a great part of it running, he saw the body of horse of that brigade standing still, and, to his seeming, doubtful which way to charge, backward or forward, when he came up to them in a great passion, reviling them with the name of poltroons and cowards, and asked them if they would stand still and see the day lost? Whereupon Cromwell shewed himself, and in a pitiful voice said, "Major-General, what shall I do?" he (begging pardon for what he said, not knowing he was there, towards whom he knew his distance as to his superior officer) told him, "Sir, if you charge not all is lost." Cromwell answered he was wounded (his great wound being a little burn in the neck by the accidental going off behind him of one of his soldier's pistols). Then Crawford desired him to go off the field and, sending one away with him (who very readily followed wholesome advice), led them on himself, which was not the duty of his place, and as little for Cromwell's honor as it proved to be much for the advancement of his and his parties pernicious designs. This I have but by relation, yet I easily believe it upon the credit of the reporter, who was a man of honor' (*Memoirs of Denzil Lord Holles*, 1699, p. 16). It may be asked, if Crawford led Cromwell's cavalry in the second part of the battle, as asserted here, what becomes of David Leslie and his services? The last part of the story is absurd. However, it is very probable that Crawford, whose rashness and impetuosity was one of his chief characteristics, thought Cromwell too slow and cautious. The interview doubtless took place in the interval between Cromwell's defeat of the Royalist right and his march against Goring. A halt of some

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article of faith with the Presbyterians and the Scots that Leslie was the real author of the victory, and Cromwell only the nominal leader, and it was publicly declared in print that the great Independent had shamelessly laid claim to the honour due to another, and that his fame was simply the result of a party intrigue. 'In this battle,' said David Buchanan, a Scottish pamphleteer, 'divers gallant men of both nations had an honourable share of the victory: but none I hear of, without disparagement to any, did appear so much in action that day with gallantry as David Lesley. Here, those of the party we spoke of a little before, to indear themselves to the people, attribute to themselves the honour of the day, and stick not to call one of theirs "the saviour of the three kingdoms," when God knows, he that they then did extoll so much did not appear at all in the heat of the business, having received at the first a little scar, kept off till the worst was past. This had not been spoken of at all, if some idle men, to gull the world, had not given the honour of the day to those who had but little share in it.' Parliament ordered Buchanan's pamphlet to be burned, as containing 'many matters false and scandalous,' and two answers, both containing circumstantial refutations of the charge against Cromwell, were subsequently published, one by Edward Bowles, the other by Lord Say.[1] The charge itself, which

length, in order to reform his troops and to ascertain exactly the position of affairs in other parts of the field, was absolutely necessary. 'Erst, nachdem Cromwell als kluger Reitergeneral selbst gesehen, führte er seine Reiterei weiter. Der Halt war also ein Gebot der Taktik' (Hoenig, ii. 452).

[1] Bowles answers Buchanan's charge as follows: 'As for the provocation which the author had to magnifie the aforenamed gentleman, by the unseemly appelation of the Saviour of the three Kingdoms given to Lieutenant-Generall Cromwell, for ought I heare, it was attributed to him by a Scottishman, Major-General Craford by name, which he could not help, and I hope, and think I may say that he is angry at the expression, his modesty and piety in that respect hath been answerable to his valour and success; and upon a strict examination, you will find that he was in the field to the last, though his service might be a little hindred after the first charge, by the shot, which though it was not very dangerous, being but a rake in the neck, yet the pistoll being discharged so neare, that the powder hurt his face, and troubled his eyes, was a better excuse for withdrawing (if he had done so, which yet he did not) than many a gay man had that day' (*Manifest*

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was merely an episode in the party war between Independents and Presbyterians, disappears altogether from political literature after 1648, and Cromwell's later victories made it seem too absurd for even detractors to revive it.

Nevertheless, it is impossible to attribute merely to party feeling the importance which so many different sources attribute to David Leslie at Marston Moor. Leslie's position with regard to Cromwell was a peculiar one. He was practically equal to Cromwell in military rank, and his experience of war was much greater.[1] When the army of the Eastern Association first joined the Scots, Cromwell had urged that David Leslie should take the command of the united cavalry. Leslie had turned a deaf ear to the proposal, and preferred to serve under Cromwell.[2] Leslie's motive for refusing was, no doubt, largely political. The Scottish army had entered England as the auxiliaries of the Parliamentarians, and as the Scottish cavalry was much inferior in numbers to

Truths; or, an Inversion of Truth's Manifest, 1646, p. 30). Lord Say's answer to Buchanan, which is entitled *Vindiciæ Veritatis; or, The Scots' Designe Discovered*, was not published till 1654, though written earlier. Some extracts on the services of the Scots have been printed in earlier notes. 'As for that which concerneth Cromwell himself,' writes Say, 'that he did not appear at all in the heat of the business, but for a little skar kept himself off till the worst was past; what man is there, English or Scot, that hath either worth or honestie in him, who was present, that will not abhor such an envious, malicious falsehood as this, fit to be fathered by none but the father of lies himselfe? for it is known that Cromwell charged in the head of those regiments of horse in my Lord Manchester's army, which horse he commanded, and with those regiments brake all the regiments of the enemie's army, first the horse, and after that the foot, and that he continued with them untill the victory was fully obtained (yea, and the Psalm of praise for it sung to God, to whom alone the glory was due), commanding all the while they charged, &c. (p. 80). For the proceedings against Buchanan see *Commons Journals*, iv. 422, 507, 628.

[1] David Leslie was styled major-general, but was commander of all the Scottish cavalry. Cromwell, styled lieutenant-general, was in the same way commander of all Manchester's cavalry. Baillie, the lieutenant-general of the Scottish army, commanded the infantry of it. In English armies of the time the lieutenant-general and second in command was always a cavalry commander. Cromwell had been major-general of horse and foot up to January 22, 1644. At that date he was commissioned as lieutenant-general. The change was probably made to find a position for Crawford in Manchester's army.

[2] Gardiner, *Great Civil War*, ii. 1.

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Manchester's, it seemed advisable to give the command of the united force to the general contributing the largest contingent. But in spite of this abnegation of his own claims Leslie must have been regarded by Cromwell rather as a colleague than a subordinate, and his advice must have had great weight, both in the plan of the attack and the conduct of the battle. In the second place, the important part assigned to Leslie in accounts of the battle is scarcely intelligible if he confined himself to leading the three weak Scottish regiments forming the reserve. It is probable, therefore, that he commanded Cromwell's second line, as Colonel Hoenig suggests. Moreover, as Cromwell's wound doubtless obliged him during the second part of the battle to confine himself to directing movements, instead of personally heading charges, as he usually did, Leslie's activity would naturally be the more conspicuous. But the supposition that Cromwell, so long as he remained in the field at all, would content himself with being the nominal commander, and allow Leslie, or Crawford, or any other man to assume his authority and take his responsibility, is utterly incompatible with Cromwell's character.

Cromwell's letter to Valentine Walton has been censured by historians, on the ground that it does justice neither to the services of the Scots nor to those of David Leslie.[1] If we had a detailed account of the battle, we should, no doubt, find both duly recorded. But critics seem to forget that the letter in question is not a despatch, but a letter of condolence, and the few lines it devotes to the battle are merely an introduction to the story of Captain Walton's death, which is its real subject. For the rest, the facts stated in the letter are rigidly accurate. It is perfectly true that the left wing, under Cromwell's command, beat all the Royalist horse, and that it consisted of the cavalry of the Eastern Association, with a few Scots as its reserve. And the fact that this victorious

[1] Carlyle, *Letter xxi.*; Gardiner, *Great Civil War*, ii. 1; Markham, *Great Lord Fairfax*, p. 168.

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cavalry was raised, trained, and inspired, as well as commanded by Cromwell, justifies the popular verdict which hailed him as the great agent in this victory.

IV

The Authorities for the History of the Battle

As might be expected, the Royalist accounts of the battle are less detailed and less numerous than those published on the other side. On July 6, 1644, 'Mercurius Aulicus' contained a brief mention of the great victory gained by Prince Rupert at York, followed on July 13 by a longer account admitting his defeat. As to Rupert's previous movements, his correspondence published by Warburton, and still more the unpublished letters belonging to it, and now in the British Museum, contain ample information. An account of his march from Shrewsbury to York is amongst the 'Carte MSS.' in the Bodleian Library, printed amongst the documents appended to this paper (No. I.). It should be compared with the itinerary of Prince Rupert's marches in England printed in the 'English Historical Review' for October 1898, from the 'Clarendon MSS.' No account of the battle by Prince Rupert himself is extant. The extracts from his so-called 'Diary' printed in Warburton's 'Prince Rupert' (ii. 467), and the map by De Gomme reproduced in this paper, may be taken to represent the Prince's view of the battle. The account given by Clarendon in his 'History of the Rebellion' is worthless, and was not drawn up till about 1670, during the author's second exile. Clarendon's MSS. in the Bodleian contain, besides the itinerary already mentioned, two valuable papers relating to the battle. The more important of the two is the narrative by Sir Hugh Cholmley, printed in the 'English Historical Review' for April 1890, p. 345. It was drawn up, probably, from information received from the Northern Royalists who left England immediately after the battle, and embarked at Scarborough, of which Cholmley was

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governor, with the Marquis of Newcastle. The second paper, which is anonymous, deals only with the preliminaries of the battle. It is printed in Mr. Macray's edition of Clarendon's 'Rebellion,' vol. iii. p. 376, and the greater part of it is also given in a note to the 'Life of the Duke of Newcastle,' ed. 1886, p. 77. Clarendon endeavoured to procure an account of the Northern war from Newcastle himself, and failing to obtain the information he required, omitted Northern affairs in general in the first draft of his History. In his second exile, when his account of Marston was drawn up, he wrote from memory, having been obliged to leave his papers behind when he fled to France. The account of the battle given in the Life of the Duke of Newcastle by the Duchess is extremely general, and confined mainly to an account of Newcastle's personal adventures and a complaint of Rupert's rashness in giving battle against Newcastle's advice. The 'Diary' of Sir Henry Slingsby contains a few useful details, but Sir Philip Warwick's 'Memoirs' add nothing to our information respecting the battle. Sir Philip Monckton's account of his own services, printed in the 'Annual Register' for 1805, p. 883, and in the Monckton papers edited by Mr. Peacock in 1884 for the Philobiblion Society, contains a paragraph on the battle which is given in full in note 3 on p. 52. The account given in Sanderson's 'Life of Charles I.,' 1656, p. 720, is copied from 'Mercurius Aulicus.' Arthur Trevor's letter to Ormond, printed in 'Carte's Original Letters,' 1739, i. 55, gives some account of the scenes to be witnessed amongst the fugitives from the field, but says little of the battle. More valuable is a newsletter from a certain Mr. Ogden, a Royalist. It is reprinted in the documentary Appendix which follows from a copy sent to Mr. Gardiner by General Wrottesley, which Mr. Gardiner was good enough to place at my disposal (Appendix No. II.).

Of the Parliamentary narratives of the battle, the official despatch from the three generals to the Committee of Both Kingdoms claims the first place. It is printed in the 'Lords' Journals' for July 10, 1644; in the old 'Parliamentary History'

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(xiii. 242), in Rushworth (v. 636), and in the 'Calendar of Domestic State Papers,' 1644 (p. 311). It is a short and very disingenuous account of the defeat of the Royalists, omitting all the incidents of the fight, minimising the Parliamentary losses, and naturally saying nothing of the hasty flight of two out of its three authors. The letter which Lord Lindsay wrote to the Scottish Committee of Estates, printed in Thurloe, i. 38, is almost word for word the same as that of the three generals. To satisfy the public curiosity about the battle and supplement these meagre official accounts, representatives of the three Parliamentary armies drew up detailed narratives of the battle, which in their turn were again supplemented by private letters from officers engaged. The first of these quasi-official relations to appear was the narrative of Simeon Ashe, one of Manchester's chaplains. Ashe and his fellow-chaplain, William Good, had published since May 1644 a series of 'Relations,' or 'True Intelligences' (for they bear sometimes one title, sometimes the other), on the proceedings of the army under the Earl of Manchester. The third and fourth of these deal with the siege of York, the fifth describes the battle of Marston Moor, and the sixth the surrender of York (adding a few additional remarks on the battle). Ashe's Relations contain a large amount of valuable information on the history of the campaign and obtained great credit. 'For the man's known integrity every word [is] believed,' writes Baillie ('Letters,' ii. 209). His narrative of Marston Moor is full of picturesque touches and interesting details, but is disappointingly vague and general when he comes to relate the movements of the different divisions engaged. Ashe's narrative is the basis of the account given by John Vicars in his 'Parliamentary Chronicle' (Part iii. 268), 'with only some interlacing and addition of some few materiall passages culled out of other authentick copies.'

Leonard Watson's 'More Exact Relation of the late Battaile neere York' supplies some of the military details which Ashe omits. Watson was Scoutmaster-General to the Earl of Manchester's army, a position which imposed on

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him the duty of ascertaining the movements of the enemy and supplying his general with intelligence. He was, therefore, exceptionally well informed on military points, and while Ashe was simply a spectator, Watson took part in the battle and charged under Cromwell. His narrative, however, confines itself too exclusively to the operations of Manchester's army, and says little about Fairfax or the Scots.

The chief authority on the part taken by the Scottish army is the anonymous 'Full Relation of the late Victory, &c.; together with a list of the cornets and ensigns, with their severall mottos. Sent by the Generals to the Parliament by Captain Stewart. Published by authority, July 11, 1644.' This is a quasi-official publication, intended not only to give an account of the battle, but to set the services of the Scots in their true light. It is usually attributed to Captain Stewart, the officer sent up with the captured flags; but there is no ground for so doing, other than the mention of his name on the title-page. Mr. Gardiner argues that it was really written by Lord Eglinton, and is the letter to Sir John Seaton referred to by Baillie ('Great Civil War,' i. 373).

It seems to be rather a compilation from different accounts, somewhat of the nature of the compilation made by Vicars from Ashe's narrative and the newspapers. Writing to Mr. Blair, Baillie says that he and his friends in London were 'much vexed' by the first reports about the battle, against which their friends in the army 'were not pleased any of you to instruct us with any answer, till Lindsay's letters came at last, and Captain Stewart with his colours. Then we sent abroad our printed relations, and could lift up our face.' In a second letter, written two days later to Lord Eglinton, he says that he was much distressed by the accounts of the rout of the right wing, in which Eglinton was, 'doubting much what was your Lordship's condition, but after Captain Stewart came up, and also your Lordship's large letter to Sir John Seaton, I was much comforted.' The 'printed relation' Baillie mentions is certainly this 'Full Relation,' which was 'published by authority,' and it may be based, as Mr. Gardiner suggests, on Eglinton's

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letter. But the other letters sent up by Stewart, and probably Stewart's personal information, seem to have been used to fill out the letter which was the basis of the relation. 'Our loss, God be praised, is not very great, being only one lieutenant-colonel, some few captains, and about two or three hundred common soldiers,' says the letter of the three generals. This is reproduced with very slight alteration in the 'Full Relation,' p. 10. 'The losse upon our part, blessed be God, is not great, being onely of one lieutenant-colonel, some few captaines, and not 300 common soldiers.' On p. 9 the 'Full Relation' says: 'L. Generall charged Prince Rupert's horse with exceeding great resolution and maintained his charge with no less valour. Generall Major Leslie [charged the Earl of Newcastle's brigade of Whitecoats and cut them wholly off, some few excepted who were taken prisoners, and after them charged a brigade of Greencoats, whereof they cut off a great number and put the rest to the rout, which service being performed he] charged the enemie's horse with whom L. Generall Cromwell was engaged upon the flank and in a very short space the enemie's whole cavalry was routed.' No doubt Leslie did rout the two bodies of infantry mentioned; but these exploits took place at the end of the battle, and not at the beginning. The other accounts of the battle, the usual tactics of the period, and the definite statement on the next page of this very relation, all show the infantry of the Royalists were not routed till their cavalry had been driven from the field. The passage in brackets is an unskilful interpolation made by the compiler of the relation in the original narrative he had before him. The editor's object was to bring out the importance of Leslie's services. Learning from hearsay, or from some other letter, of Leslie's exploits against the Royalist infantry, he slipped a few lines about them into the middle of an account of the proceedings of the left wing during the first part of the battle. As he was probably not a soldier, the absurdity of what he was doing did not strike him, and as long as his facts were true, and his sentences were properly fitted together, he did not trouble his head about the order of

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events. The mistake of 'right wing of our foot' for 'right wing of our horse' on p. 6, line 15, is probably also due to the compiler of the relation.

Taking all these things together, it seems to me that historians of the battle have rather overestimated the authority of the 'Full Relation,' and that while it contains a large amount of extremely valuable information, its statements cannot be as implicitly accepted as they have been. For this reason, therefore, and for the reasons given on p. 21, note 1, I have followed the statements of Ashe and Stockdale in preference to that of the 'Full Relation' on the question whether the main body of the Scottish infantry was on the centre or on the right.

Next to the 'Full Relation,' the chief authority for the services of the Scottish army is the pamphlet entitled 'The Glorious and Miraculous Battel at York, printed at Edinburgh by James Lindesay, 1644.' This consists of two letters, one dated July 5, the other probably of the same date. Neither is signed, and both are addressed to unnamed peers of Scotland. The first was probably addressed to the Earl of Loudoun, and was possibly written by Robert Home, the lieutenant-colonel commanding his regiment. It contains some interesting particulars on the share of the Scottish infantry in the battle. The second letter deals with the results of the battle and the losses of the Scots. At the close the printer adds: 'Gentle Reader, I crave your patience concerning the drawing up of the briggads, because they were not altogether so perfect as I would have them; but yee shall have them very shortlie, God willing, printed in a perfect forme.' Unfortunately this promise does not seem to have been kept.

Of other Scottish accounts, that of Spalding ('History of the Troubles,' p. 428, ed. 1829) contributes very little information of value. The account of the battle and of the previous campaign, which the author of the 'Memorie of the Somervilles,' published in 1815, derived from his father, Colonel James Somerville, contains the stories of Leven's flight to

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Leeds, and of the destruction of the Whitecoats, but unluckily he purposely declines to give a complete description of the battle. Baillie's 'Letters' contain a few references (ii. 209, 210, 218).

On the proceedings of the forces commanded by the two Fairfaxes, Sir Thomas Fairfax's 'Short Memorial' and his note on a passage in Fuller's 'Worthies' are the chief authority for the cavalry. These are reprinted in 'The Antiquarian Repertory,' 1808, vol. iii., and in Arber's 'English Garner,' vol. viii. A brief letter from Sir William Fairfax to his wife, giving no details, is printed in Markham's 'Life of Admiral Robert Fairfax,' p. 19. Lord Fairfax's letter to the Mayor of Hull is reprinted in Sanford's 'Studies and Illustrations of the Great Rebellion,' p. 612. Stockdale's narrative, sent to Rushworth, and read by him to the House of Commons, is to be found in the 'Diary' of Sir Simonds D'Ewes. It gives an account of the battle from the point of view of a person attached to the army of the Fairfaxes, and is of the same quasi-official character as the letters of Ashe and Watson. It was first made use of by Mr. Gardiner, and is printed amongst the documents appended to this paper (No. III.).

Accounts of the battle of less value, but usually containing a few small facts worth collecting, are given in the Parliamentary newspapers and in other pamphlets. The 'Parliament Scout' gives the story of Rupert's questions to the prisoner taken just before the battle began. Extracts from 'Mercurius Britannicus' and the 'Perfect Diurnall,' which are mere abridgments of the 'Full Relation,' are printed in 'Cromwelliana,' p. 9. Rushworth's narrative is a compilation from Ashe, Watson, and the 'Full Relation' ('Collections,' v. 632). Whitelocke's account in his 'Memorials' is worthless. Of the minor pamphlets, the chief are: (1) 'A Letter from a Captain there present to a Friend in London,' signed W. H. (2) A true Relation of the late Fight between the Parliament forces and Prince Rupert within four miles of York, with the names of the commanders that were slain and wounded. (3) Particulars of divers of the commanders and officers taken prisoners at Marston Moor. Also a relation of some remarkable passages,

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&c., in a Letter from Hull. Edward Bowles, in his 'Manifest Truths,' gives a brief account of the battle (p. 6), as well as a refutation of the charges against Cromwell before referred to (p. 30).

The 'Calendar of Domestic State Papers,' while indispensable for the history of the campaign, contains very little about the battle of Marston Moor itself. There is a short account of the battle in a letter from Henry Shelley to Sir Thomas Pelham (Add. MSS. 33084, f. 67), but it is not worth printing. More interesting is a letter from Robert Clark, a Parliamentary sea-captain, to a Royalist acquaintance, Captain Bartlett, which will be found in the Appendix (No. IV.).

APPENDIX OF DOCUMENTS RELATING TO THE BATTLE OF MARSTON MOOR

I

Account of Prince Rupert's March into Lancashire [1]

SHREWSBURY RANDESVOUZ

Prince Rupert advanced with his army towards Lancashire consistinge of 2,000 hors, and 6,000 foote, or above (as is supposed), drawne out of the Countyes of Herreford, Woster, Stafford, Salop, Chester. After 10 dayes march by reason of the Roughness of the wayes, and weather wee came to Stopford, a large village in the confines of Lancashire Mannour with the Enemy without fortificacions, saveing a ryver with high bancks and a bridge devideing Cheshire from Lancashire, there the Prince intended to quarter that night, which after a little dispute from hedges and ditches, uppon an universall assaulte was abandoned by the Enemy, who fled towards Manchester some 6 myles distant, and by reason the sunn was downe, the night made way to theyr escape, though they were pursued a great way, and as was beleived noe man lost of eyther syde; the goods

May 16th, 164

May 25th

one leather gunn

[1] *Carte MSS.* x. 664.

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May 28th of the towne was the souldiers rewarde. Upon the 28th of May the army marched towards Bolton, a large Country towne in Lancashire, some 16 myles from Stopford as wee marched, mann'd lykewise with 4,000 menn (as was informed), there the Prince intended to quarter that night, onely gates and highwayes fortifyed lightly, the rayne was soe immoderate that it cost an howre or two dispute, but being impetuously stormed it was taken with fall of 1,000 menn of the Enemy in the streetes and feilds, above 20 cullours, 600 prisoners, 50 officers, 20 barrells of powder, match and armes a great quantity; the towne souldiers reward.

June the 1° As wee lay in the Country about Bolton Generall Goreing came with his Northerne army, partely from the Marques of New Castle, partly from Newark consistinge of 5,000 horss and 800 foote, not soe well appointed as was expected, with a great drove of cattle out of the Enemyes quarters as they march. All this while great numbers of horss and foote resorted to the Prince, brought in by the Earle of Derby his meanes and Sir Thomas Tinsley, but unarmed most of

June the 5th them. Wigin a large towne some 20 myles from Bolton received the Prince and his army with great tokens of joy, the streetes being strowed with rushes, flowers, and boughes of trees.

June 7th Wee pitched before Liverpoole with our whole army, haveing beleaguered it with our horss the day before; it had mudd walls with barrs and gates, 14 peeces of ordinance, 1,000 souldiers (as was supposed); the matter was disputed very hotly untill the tenth day of June with muskett and great shott without measure out of the towne and from the shipps, uppon which day our line approached within a coites cast of the gate where our great shott had almost filled the ditch with the ruines of the sod wall, and about noone a furious assaulte was made by our menn where a terrible fight was on both sydes above the space of an houre uppon the workes, the Enemy resolute, ours not seconded retreated with some loss. The Enemy whether dispayreing of releif, or of theyr owne strength against soe great power at Midnight they shipped themselves the cheife of theyr menn and goods and left 12 collours on the workes, hoysted sayles, and road within halfe a league of the towne. Which Collonell Tillyer perceiveinge haveinge the Guarde next the Sea, supposeinge the Enemy to bee gone, entred the towne with little or noe resistance, found about 400 of the meaner sorte of menn, whereof most were kill'd some had quarter, 14 peeces of ordinance, left uppon theyr carriadges att theyr batterys, whatsoever was desiderable was the souldiers right for theyr hard service, 26 smale vessells without tacklings were left in the harbour.

une 8th Collonel Goreing and Collonel Marrow cutt of a party comminge

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from Warrington to Liverpoole, two Scotts Majors taken, many killed.

[Endorsed] May 16, 1644.

Proceedings of his Majesty's Army in England under the command of his Highness Prince Rupert, &c.

II

Mr. Ogden's Narrative

Richmond, July 6.

The Prince marching towards Yorke Munday July the 1st, the Enemy raysed theire seige and went away: the Prince having intelligence w^h^ way they went, marched towards them, haveing left order wth the Marq. of Newcastle to meete him next morning with his foote, wch he did not till 4 of ye Clocke in the afternoone. Whyle the Prince was towards the Enemy the Marquesse went out to Fayrefax his tents, and there found foure thousand payre of boots and shoes, 3 morter pieces, some amunition, and other carriage.

On Tuesday the Prince discovered the Enemy planted on a hill not above 3 or 4 myles from Yorke, where they had the Advantage of the ground, the winde, and of a high corne field in wch they had planted theire Ordnance. The Enemyes Number was farre above the Princes, having in the front twelve hundred more then hee. They set on the Prince towards night, when they were least look^d^ for, and soe roughly overpowered the right wing o^r^ horse as they all fled, and could not possibly bee gotten to ralley; the left wing of o^r^ horse made amends killed many of the enemyes, and charged through to Lesleye's carriage and plundered it.

The Prince being separated from his troope, and surrounded by the enemy, killed 4 or 5 wth his owne hands, and at last hee brake strangely through them, and seing himselfe not likely to get his men together againe, came into Yorke alone about 11 o'clocke at night: glad were his friends to see him there: and his gentlemen came dropping in one by one, not knowing but marvelling, and doubting what fortune might befall one another.

The Prince's cannon which hee carryed into the field are lost, being 4 or 5 midling brasse pieces, but the great and the litle pieces with the grosse of his carriage were left safe in Yorke. The Lord Carey wee feare is slayne: the Lord Grandison sorely wounded, and Sir Charles Lucas certainly taken. Both armyes were strangely scatterd and confusd of a sodaine. The enemy had not after the

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fight 500 five hundred foote in a body, but of ye Princes horse there are not now an hundred wanting, but his foote suffered much, they standing soe stoutly to it, and the horse flying: most of Manchesters blew coats wch fought under the bloody colors are cutt off. They have many colors of o^rs^ and wee of theires. More of ye Enemyes slayne then of o^rs^: more of o^rs^ taken then of theires: but never were two such armyes soe sodainly and strangely scattered, and soe few killed.

It was the hand of God on both parts: who if he seemed not to like theire Horrid rebellion soe neither o^r^ too much confidence. The truth is wee had the victory but knew it not, and were content to yeeld it to those that dearst not come to fetch it. This for Tuseday night in w^h^ was all the fight that was, and that very short.

On Wendsday the Prince was advised for his safety to retreate wth his horse, wch he did, and leaving Yorke well provided wth men, victuals and ammunition hee marcht and came the second night being Thursday to Richmond, 20 myles on this side Yorke. When the enemy heard that the Prince was gon they fac^d^ Yorke againe on Thursday, though farre off upon a hill: and Yorke salutes them with 3 peeces of ordnance wch they never heard before. They sum̃oned the City to yeeld within 6 houres, but they set them at defyance and Sr Tho. Glemham sent the Prince word that hee would keepe it to the last man.

After this the Enemy dispersed themselves. Gell his way, Manchester his way, and Fayrefax to Hull: and Lesley wth two troope of horse towards his new supply wch lyes neere Newcastle, wch towne being left by the marquesse in the Mayors trust, tis feard it may bee by him betrayed.

This is verbatim as much as I could remember of Dr Lewins lre to his wife: who himselfe had beene taken but for his strong horse and his rotten spanner string. And I am certainly informed that Colonell Tillier is taken.

Note by Major-General Wrottesley.—The letter is endorsed 'Newes sent from Mr Ogden,' in the handwriting of Sir Walter Wrottesley, first Baronet, amongst whose correspondence it was found. The handwriting of the letter is 17th century, and no doubt cotemporary with the contents.

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III

Mr. Stockdale's Narrative[1]

July 8, Monday, 1644.

This Lrē was read in the House of Commons Julie 8 Monday by Mr John Rushworth (to whome it was sent) the Clarkes assistant from Thomas Stockdale Esquire.

5 July, 1644.

Vpon fryday last 28 Junie the three Generalls receiued some intelligence of Prince Ruperts speedy march towards Yorke with a very numerous army, to wch were added the forces from the 4 Northern Counties raysed by Clauering and Musgrave &c., whereupon they resolued to raise the seige of Yorke and march towards him, for which preparation was made, but the execution delaied untill more certenty should be brought of the E. of Denbyes approach & Sr John Meldromes with the forces of Chesshire &c., for if they should come in such time as to joyne with our horse, dragooners, and foot designed for that purpose, which might be able to encounter Prince Rupert, then it was intended both to continue the seige and giue the Prince battell. But Letters from the E. of Denbigh & Sr John Meldrom coming to certifie that vntill Wednesday night they could not bee at Wakefield which is 20 myles short of Yorke, and certen intelligence being come that Prince Rupert and all his forces were come to Knarsborough within 12 myles of the leaguer, vpon the last Lords day at night, it was then resolued to rise presentlie with the whole army to encounter him. So vpon Monday morning last the whole seige was raysed, and the 3 armies marched to Hessey more, and joyned with the horse, expecting the enemies coming that way, which it seemes he auoyded vntill the force in Yorke should be joyned to him, and therefore marched from Knarsborough to Burrowbridge, and ouer Thorneton bridge, and so vpon the North side of Ouse to Yorke, and in his march by Popleton hee there surprised a bridge made of botes by the Earle of Manchesters order, who had left a Regiment of dragooners to guard it, intending it for a pass for our Armyes to the North side of Ouse, in case the enemy should come that way ; but the enemy coming suddenly vpon the guard beat them away & seized upon the bridge, and then quartered his army thereabouts, not suffering them to goe to Yorke, yet keeping it in his power to enter thither with his whole army when it should be to his advantage, and

[1] *Harleian MSS.* 166, 87.

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to giue and receiue supplyes from thence as there should bee cause. Vpon this the Generalls and principall feild Officers held another consultation vpon Monday at night, wherein it was resolued the next morning to rise from thence, and march to Cawood, Tadcaster, and those parts, from whence they could not onely safe guard the forces from Chesshire &c., but also p̄vent the marching of Prince Rupert Southwardes, and likewise (by the helpe of a bridge of botes then at Cawood) to stop all prouisions going to Yorke either from the West or East Ryding, and soe in time necessitate him to draw out and fight. And accordingly upon tuesday morning 2 July the foot and carryages began their march, many of the Scotts being advanced in the Van as farr as Tadcaster; but the 3 Generalls all continued about Long Marston, where they had quartered all night, and the horse still kept the guards vpon Hesseymore, where about 9 a clock in the morning they discouered that the enemy had drawne ouer a great part of their army by the bridge they surprised the night before, and by a foord neare to it. Wherevpon the Generalls gaue present order to call back the foote with the Ordinance, ammunition, and carriages, which retorned and by Generall Lesley and the other commanders they were all putt into order for a feight in Marston feilds upon a ground of advantage chosen for that purpose, and by 2 a clocke afternoon they were all disposed of in their orders, and our Ordinance planted, where they stayed expecting the enemies advance, who had drawne all their forces and at least 6000 men out of Yorke into a large plaine common lying betwixt Marston, Torwith,[1] and Wilstrop, and part of them drawne vp within shot of our Ordinance, which about 2 a clock begann to play vpon the Brigade of horse that were nearest, and did some execution upon them, which forced the enemye to leaue that ground and remoue to a greater distance. And so both Armyes stood ranged in Battalynes viewing each other, and neither of them ingaging, till it was halfe an hour past 7 a clocke at night, and then our Generalls (seing the enemy would not advance) resolued to leaue their ground of advantage & to engage vpon the plaine ground, wch order being once giuen was most cheerfully vndertaken by all the commanders and soldiers. The Yorkeshire forces strengthened with a great party of the Scotts army hauing the maine battle, the E. of Manchesters forces the left wing, and the Scotts the right wing, each battle hauing seuerall reserues and winged with horse, according to Generall Lesleyes direction whose great experience did worthyly chalenge the prime power in ordering of them. Our men on

[1] Read Tockwith.

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all sides charged gallantly, and were receiued by the enemy with great resolution, so that I thinke for an houre or thereabouts there hath not been seen a more furious encounter in these or any other warres. The E. of Manchesters horse in the left hand battle first routing one regiment or body of horse of the enemyes, and the Lord Fairfax foote gaining ground of the enemyes foote in the maine battle; yet after a little time the E. of Manchesters horse were repulsed by fresh supplyes of the enemyes, and forced to retreate in some disorder; and the Lord Fairfax foote & the Scotts that were joyned with them pursuing their advantage were charged by the enemyes horse, and so disordered that they were forced to flye backe and leaue our Ordinance behinde them, and many of our horse were also repulsed by the enemy, which coming of in disorder on all sydes did soe daunt the spiritts of the reserues that had not then engaged as that many fledd away without euer striking blow; and multitudes of people that were spectators runn away in such feare and confusion as more daunted the souldiers; so that I verely belieue there were not so few as 4,000 of our horse that runne of the feild, some of them neuer looking backe till they gott as farre as Lincolne, some others to Hull, and others to Hallifax and Wakefeild. And the Scots foote that fought in the right wing did most of them retire from their ground, except the Earle of Lindeseys Regiment, so that the enemy had the advantage to regaine their owne ordinance which my Lord Fairfax Brigade did first beat them from, and also to possess themselues of our Ordinance, and shortly after of our carryages also, which they first plundered, though afterwards it is conceived they were replundered by our owne Armeys, and some of the enemyes horse pursued our flying horse neare two myles from the feild, soe that in all appearance the day was lost. But now when all our foote and horse were in this disorder and little hopes of sauing the day, God shewed himselfe mightily for vs; and by the great courage and wisdome of the commanders our broken forces were rallyed againe, and made head against the enemyes; in which seruice the Earle of Manchester and Leiftenant Generall Cromwell haue merited most, and Sr Thomas Fairfax very much. And at this second charge our men performed their duty with such resolution and courage as they vtterly routed the enemyes army, and chased them into the gates of Yorke as many as could escape; and all this performed before 12 a clock in the night, the moone with her light helping something the darknes of the season. This victory was one of the greatest & most bloody since the warre beganne, and I hope hath lett out much of that ill blood that hath soe long distempered the State. After the battell our men pursued

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the enemy neare Yorke, and then setled vpon the ground where the battell was fought, and there continued all Wednesday and most part of yesterday, vntill the Cheshire and Lancashire forces came vp to them, and then they marched together towards Yorke againe, and are set downe yesternight in their old quarters, from whence I hope they will not bee forced to rise againe vntill the Citty be surendred. It is said that the Prince of Cumberland and the Marquesse Newcastle are both fled out of Yorke towards Newcastle or Scarborough and the sea coast, and haue left Sr Thomas Glemham with some small force in the Citty, wch is now summoned againe. The particulers of the losse and gaine in this victory I cannot precisely giue you ; but in generall this, wee haue not lost any of our principall commanders yet many captains Officers and soldiers are slaine, and most part of our chiefe Officers and soldiers wounded as Leiftenant Generall Cromwell, Sr Thomas Fairfax, Coll. Charles Fairfax, Major Fairfax, Collonell Thornton, Collonell Bethell &c. Collonell Lambert's horse was onely kild vnder him, no blood drawne of himselfe, and of my Lord Fairfax army there are aboue 1,000 soldiers wounded, which will sufficiently testify their gallant resolutions, though once in the battle they were forced to retreate.

Of the Enemyes there are aboue 4,000 left dead in the feild, and (as some yesterday fled to our Army from Yorke do report) about 5,000 wounded men ; and a great part of the rest dispersed and not to be rallyed. Wee haue about 2,000 prisoners taken that day, amongst which Sr Charles Lucas and Leiftenant Generall Porter are the cheife. There is one of the Goringes and a great number of other field Officers and Captens taken, whereof you will receiue a list from other handes. The principall Officer kild as is thought is Coll. Hurrey, and wee haue all their ammunicõn & baggage, 25 peices of Ordinance, & many thousands of Armes as you may imagine by the slaughter. It may please God that this victory giuen by his Almighty hand may bee the foundation of our peace, which God grant. The enemy could not loose less then 10 thousand armes by estimate, though I doe not heare of aboue 6,000 found, but many wilbe concealed.

IV

Captain Robert Clarke to Captain Bartlett [1]

Honorable Sir,—The time was when you were in Chester you professed to be a freind of mine in advisinge me to desert the cause

[1] *Carte MSS.* xi. 444.

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I had ingaged my selfe in, in requitall where of I shall give you this certaine intelligence how the affaires stands now in England, which if you please well to consider of I shall be as ready now to serve you now in makinge your peace as you were then to make mine. Prince Rupert (after Leverpoole businesse) drew the whole County before him of all sorts that were able to carry armes or ride a horse, and with a vaust armey went to raise the seidge at Yorke, which the Scotts hearinge leifte the seidge, and drew theire forces into the plaine, soe as Prince Rupert went into Yorke on Monday was a sevennyght without any molestacion, and the next morninge drew his forces into the feild, to give the Scotts battaile, who then had with them the Earle of Manchester his forces, and Sir Thomas Fairefax his forces, and after both armyes were drawne into Battalia the left winge of Prince Rupert charged the Parliament's left winge, which consisted of Scottish horse and some raw souldiers of Lancasheire, and gave them a feirce chardge, soe that hee rowted all the Lancasheire forces, and caused the Scotts horse to reatreate, and had the better of it for neere 3 howers, and was so confident of the day that he cryed severall times, the Kingedome is ours, the Kingedome is ours, but the Earle of Manchester, and Sir Thomas Fairefax, havinge the right winge and body of the army, charged theire army and left winge, and rowted and killed the best part of them, and Prince Rupert was soe farre engaged with persuinge the left winge, that he had lost the day before he knew of it, soe that he was forced to fly into Yorke with his horse. The Parliament's armey killed upon the plaine 3,500 men, tooke Generall Goringe, and Sir Charles Lucas, and a greate many other Commaunders, prisoners 1,500, 16 peices of ordinaunce, 14,000 armes, some of the Prince's side report twenty thousand, all theire ammunition, bagge and baggage, Prince Rupert's coach with 7,000*l.* in ready money. The battaile fell heavy upon Prince Rupert's old souldiers and the gentrey, for they onely fought, and the array men (behavinge themselves) runninge all away for feare every man to his severall habitacions, soe as next day when the Prince came to muster his men he had not any foote lefte, and all the horse that escaped with him was but 3,000, with the which he presently marched out of Yorke towards Westmorlande and Cumberlande, and the Parliament's army next day beinge Thursday sate downe before Yorke, and beseidged it more straitely then before. There came news to the Parliament shipping from Lancaster that Yorke was to be delivered on Tuesday last ; there was a day of thankesgivinge held that day at Lancaster and in some other parts there abouts for the victory. The Parliament shipping shott 150 peeces of ordinance, and were

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answered againe from Lancaster Castle, which is within 16 miles, where the shippinge lay. Prince Rupert marches up and downe the Countrey with his horse, but can raise noe force, nor make any stay. by reason Sir Thomas Fairefax and the Earle of Manchester pursued him with 7,000 horse as close as they can. The Countrey people tells him that he shall rather cutt theire throates at home than carry them abroad to be slaine, as theire Countrey men have beene, soe as now he is gone towards the south againe ; but his owne men beginne to leave him, for there came into Kendall on Monday last the Lord Morley and 2 other greate Commaunders hardly with men to attend them, and there lyeth very sad and discontent as they doe in many parts of this County. It [is] verily spoke and thought by some of the gentrey that escaped from him at Yorke that he will never be able to recover his forces.

The Countrey being weary of him he intends for Shrewsbury, where they say the Kinge is. It is now verily hoped with God's blessinge the warrs will quickly be at an end, for Prince Rupert had the greatest of the Kinge's forces for this designe. God in his mercy send his Majestie backe againe to his Parliament, and putt an end to these distractions. All thinges goe for the Parliament. This beinge a true relation not doubtinge but that you will make relacion of it to the rest of your freinds, and not to beleeve that packe of lyes that the Logee cannot match them, and upon the faith of your freind I have wrote nothinge but what is credibly reported by the Kebbish Cavileers and other our freinds beinge honest men, and I hope noe freind of mine will doubt it, the issue [1] I doe beeleve will quickly manifest the same. Likewise I see a letter which came to Captaine Tatam, who hath in his shipp a greate proportion of ordinaunce and ammunicion in number 14 peeces of greate ordinaunce, 150 barrells of powder, 3000 armes with five demmicannon, and greate store of match. That Sir William Bruerton, Sir Thomas Middleton, Sir John Gill, with other Commaunders with the Chessheire and Staffordsheire forces marched to Leeds to have gone to Yorke, but before they gott thither the battaile was ended, accordinge to fore mencioned relacion, and severall messages came to them to march backe againe for Chester and Leverpoole. Upon that letter wee have left Captaine Tatam and 2 or 3 other shipps to deliver the ammunition to send to Lancaster Castle, where there is a stronge force to convay them where occasion shall serve. If I should write all the good news that is stirringe which is not to be contradicted by any I should make you

[1] Issue twice repeated.

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withe the rest of the Cavileers to take such a surfett impossible to be recovered, soe I take leave and rest

Your very lovinge Freind,

ROBERT CLARKE.

From on board his Majesties shipp Jslinge,[1] July 14, 1644.

Soe I doe not doubt to reaceve [*sic*] some answere from you. [Captain Clarke's letter to Captain Bartlett relateing the Battle of work.]

[1] A letter or two seem to be omitted in this word, and the handwriting is bad. A list of the Parliamentary Navy, dated May 31, 1645, gives the name of Robert Clark as captain of the 'Joceline,' a hired merchant-ship of 196 tons and 12 guns. Granville Penn, *Memorials of Sir W. Penn*, i. 3.

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THE NATIONAL STUDY OF NAVAL HISTORY

By Professor J. K. LAUGHTON, M.A.

Read December 16

It would be senseless presumption in me to speak in this place of the interest of any branch of history studied for its own sake; nor have I interpreted the invitation which I have received through your Secretary as implying any wish that I should do so. I have rather understood the term 'national' as expressing a wish that I should speak of the lessons of national importance which are to be sought for in the history of our navy, 'the wall and fence of the kingdom.'

It has not unfrequently been my lot to address an audience of naval officers on the study of naval history, and on these occasions I have naturally dwelt on its professional importance. I have endeavoured to show how a careful, a minute study of the methods adopted by the great masters of the art of war by sea, a detailed examination of the causes which have led to success or to failure, is one of the best, if not the very best, the most vital of all the preparations for the conduct of a naval campaign. In addressing a general audience, my task is different. I have to speak of the peculiar interest of the study of naval history to the statesman, the politician, the elector, the taxpayer, to all of whom it is of absolutely no importance to know how any particular operation has been carried on, but to whom it may be of the very highest importance to know and understand the meaning of it. It is, for instance, of no importance to any civilian to know the manner in which our admirals stationed their ships during

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the years 1803–4–5; but it is of very great importance that every civilian should know and realise that whilst our squadrons kept watch over Toulon, Ferrol, Rochefort, and Brest, Napoleon was unable even to attempt the invasion which he threatened. It is of no importance to the taxpayer, as such, to know the particular method by which Nelson destroyed the allied fleet at Trafalgar; but it is most important to the country that every taxpayer should understand that by that victory, not only was Napoleon's hope of invading this country finally shattered, but we were enabled, on the one hand, to wage a successful war in the Peninsula, and, on the other, to carry through that tremendous commercial struggle which was born out of Napoleon's impotence to attack us in any other way, and which ended in the campaign of Russia and the irretrievable ruin of the French Emperor. It has been maintained—even in France; I believe it has been rightly maintained—that the battle which decided Napoleon's fate was neither Leipzig nor Waterloo, but Trafalgar. Clearly, it is of importance for us all to understand this, to realise that the navy is the nation's right arm with which, as a boxer, she wards off the enemy's blows and administers the severest punishment. But gentlemen of England, who live at home at ease, are very apt to forget or to be ignorant of this, and to take the preamble to the old Articles of War, and to the modern Naval Discipline Act, which speaks of the navy as that 'whereon, under the Providence of God, the wealth, safety, and strength of the kingdom chiefly depend,' as a mere form of words, if not a vain and somewhat vulgar form of boasting. The study of our history shows us, on the contrary, that it is an absolute reality; that it is to the navy, and to the navy alone, that we owe our immunity from invasion, our extended commerce, and our vast colonial and Indian Empire.

It cannot be necessary here to dwell on the many instances in which the enemy's lust of invasion has been quelled by the action or by the mere presence of our fleet; but among the more important I may refer to the resolve of William the

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Conqueror, which was held in abeyance as long as the English King could keep a fleet together. When the fleet dispersed, the Duke of Normandy crossed over, and the battle of Hastings followed. I may, again, refer to the imminence of a second French conquest in 1217 which was averted by the action of Hubert de Burgh and the men of Dover; to the destruction of the Spanish Armada in 1588; to the death-blow to the hopes of James II. in the Bay of La Hogue in 1692, or the tremendous smash which was made of the proposal to carry an army of invasion over from the Morbihan,

> When Hawke from France took out the shine,
> At Quiberon Bay, in fifty-nine.

Of the prolonged wish entertained by Napoleon in 1803-4-5, I have already spoken; and any one who looks through the long story of our wars with France will find many other—I do not say attempts; the attempts have been very few; but —wishes at invasion which were quashed before they germinated and produced the attempt.

It is equally unnecessary to speak at any length of the influence our navy has had on our commerce, which has increased by leaps and bounds ever since the War of the Spanish Succession, from which we emerged, in the words of Captain Mahan, no longer A Maritime Power but THE Maritime Power. Financiers, political economists, statisticians —I leave the humanitarians alone—have written of the ruinous cost of our wars, and have totted up the vast sums added to the national debt. They have overlooked the fact that the national debt has been the capital of the greatest commercial enterprise the world has ever seen, and that the interest payable on it is but a small percentage on the profit derived from it. Is it worth stopping to ask why this is? It is that in every war—with one exception—we have swept the enemy's commerce off the sea; and thus in 1748, in 1763, and above all in 1815, we had secured an absolute monopoly of the world's trade.

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With respect to our colonies, I fancy there is a more common misapprehension. Is it not an everyday boast that the English have a peculiar aptitude for colonisation, which no other people can even approach—the French least of all? But is it really so? Did we think so when the French colonists in Nova Scotia were the rivals of our New England settlers? or when from Canada they swarmed over into the Ohio valley and threatened to push the English into the sea? I don't remember that there was then any talk of the incapacity of the French as colonists. I am sure there wasn't; though it is very commonly said now that they tried and failed. But did they fail? Are not the descendants of these French colonists there to this day, as capable and thriving as those of English descent? It was not that they failed, but that they were overthrown. They succumbed to the sea might of England.

It is of course said—I suppose we were all taught as school-boys—that Canada was conquered by Wolfe. I don't suppose any of us were taught to reflect that had Wolfe not been supported by England's sea-power he could not have got to Canada at all; and that, even if he had been permitted to get there, he would presently have been overwhelmed by the superior forces of France. It was not Wolfe's brilliant victory that won Canada; it was the power of the sea, which, during the years 1755–6–7–8–9, was seized by the English, who thus cut Canada off from all support. Of course Wolfe had a share in the conquest, but it was only a small share; those who mainly effected it were Boscawen, Osborn, Saunders, and, perhaps above all, Hawke. The battle of Quiberon Bay was, indeed, not fought till a couple of months after Quebec had fallen, but it effectually prevented any recovery. In this, as in many other respects, it may be compared with Trafalgar, which was fought about the same number of weeks after the camp at Boulogne had been broken up, but which, all the same, gave the *coup de grâce* to the enemy's projects of invasion.

And in India? Was there any talk of French incapacity

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when our small factory at Madras was existing by permission from the French? Was there any talk of their inability to manage natives when Dupleix was first forming regiments of Sepoys? He failed, not from incapacity, inability, or want of genius; but because he was unsupported; because the sea-power in the hands of the English took from him all possibility of success. And so it was noted at the time by Clive, who, in a letter to Pitt of January 7, 1759, wrote: 'Notwithstanding the extraordinary effort made by the French in sending out M. Lally with a considerable force last year, I am confident before the end of this they will be near their last gasp in the Carnatic, unless some very unforeseen event interpose in their favour. The superiority of our squadron and the plenty of money and supplies of all kinds which our friends on that coast will be furnished with from Bengal, while the enemy are in total want of everything, without any visible means of redress, are such advantages as, if properly attended to, cannot fail of wholly effecting their ruin in that as well as in every other part of India.'

And Mauritius? a thriving colony when it was French; more so, perhaps, than it has been since the sea-power transferred it to the English. And Martinique? which remains French, though we have captured it so often that we may say, without boasting, that—so long as we hold the dominant sea-power—it will pass to us, in time of war, whenever we choose.

On the other hand, let us ask ourselves if we hold our great colonies in Australasia by virtue of any superior capacity. Frenchmen or Germans, settling there, get on, I understand, as well as our own people. The Frenchman who has made a large fortune in Australia is a stock character in French novels, and is presumably not uncommon in real life. Why then are these colonies English? Because if they had been founded by any other country they would have been captured by the English, even as Mauritius or Ceylon or Java was captured; because any dependency beyond the sea is at the mercy of the dominant sea-power; because in their infancy they were supported by the English navy; and because

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even now, in their maturity, the navy of England is felt to be their best and truest defence.

But let us look, for a moment, on the other and less pleasing side of the picture. Why are the United States of America no longer English colonies? Certainly not because having revolted, they won their independence; but because the French won it for them; and the French assistance was given because Keppel could not defeat D'Orvilliers off Ushant on July 27, 1778. But more than this: it is acknowledged that the resources and endurance of the colonies were fast failing, that they were on the point of being reduced to submission when circumstances permitted them to undertake the siege of York-town and to conduct it to a successful issue. But a look at the map will show you that York-town, if supported from the sea, would have been impregnable; that the besiegers could not have got near it had the sea not been open to them—they were, in fact, transported by sea from the Head of Elk—and that, if by any means they had got near it, they could not have stayed there for ten minutes. York-town surrendered because the French fleet commanded the surrounding waters; because it had defeated the English fleet off Cape Henry on September 5, 1781. Sir Edward Creasy wrote of the defeat of Burgoyne at Saratoga as the decisive battle of the war. I think he was wrong. Not Saratoga, but the naval battle off Cape Henry—outside the Chesapeake—achieved the independence of the colonies.

And how near a thing it was! It is part of the political history of England that the administration of the navy was, at that time, in the hands of a man whom Charles Churchill described as spared by fate—

> Only to show, on mercy's plan,
> How far and long God bears with man;

a man whose idea of the responsibilities of his office was to use it for political jobbery and the strengthening of his party. When the stress of war came, our harbours were empty of ships, our arsenals were empty of stores. In

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September, 1781, we could only muster 19 sail of the line off the mouth of the Chesapeake to fight against the 28 French ships assembled there under the command of the Comte de Grasse. But the fates, as well as the First Lord of the Admiralty, fought against us. The English Commander-in-Chief was a good, brave, well-meaning man—one of those who provide so much of the pavement of the lower regions—utterly incapable of anything like genius. So he fought the battle according to the routine provided by the Admiralty for the incapable, and he was defeated. And yet he had with him as second in command, one whom Nelson, fourteen years later, described as 'the best officer, take him altogether, that England has to boast of; . . . equally great in all situations which an admiral can be placed in;' one who, less than six months later, at St. Kitts, in the presence of the same Comte De Grasse, did actually execute the very manœuvre which he thought might have been executed in the Chesapeake. He was a man who hated a fool and had no tolerance for mediocrity; a man with a sharp tongue, and an inkstand full of gall. He believed that Graves could and should have fallen on the French as they came out of the Chesapeake; that he could and should have inflicted on them a crushing blow, and have then gone into the Chesapeake, leaving what remained of the French force outside. He believed this, and he said it to Graves, and he wrote it to his friends in England. There is absolutely no reason to doubt that the opportunity was given, and that Hood would have taken it—if only he had been in command that day. If, indeed! Then, to adapt the words of the poet,

> Another end had seen that war,
> O'er fate had shone a brighter star,
> And York-town had been Trafalgar.

It was not to be. There are many who will say, It is better that it was not; that the colonies, subdued by force of arms, would have been a dear handful, and, at the first opportunity, would have thrown off their allegiance. Possibly.

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But the Federal States subdued the Confederates now more than thirty years ago, and enforced their obedience and their adhesion to the Union. It was, no doubt, a bitter pill to them at the time and for years afterwards; but the Union to-day is all the stronger for their having had to swallow it.

Now I am not here this afternoon to repeat the facts of our naval history; and I merely mention these in outline, as illustrating the path by which, it seems to me, the civilian should advance to its study. It is not in his province to criticise the tactics of Admiral Graves on September 5; but it is in his province to criticise and understand the political and administrative misconduct which put Graves in a position such that nothing but genius of a very high order could have extricated him from it. We cannot count on having genius at our command whenever we want it; but we can count on the service of brave, honest men who will do their duty; and it is for the country to see that the administration does not lay impossible burdens upon them; it is for the country, that is, for the collective electors and taxpayers, to see that in time of peace, as a preparation for war, the navy is kept at an adequate strength.

But to see this, it is sometimes necessary to look below the surface. During the last thirty years, indeed, the official lists have been fairly correct; but before the general acceptance of armoured vessels, no one but an expert could make much out of the Navy List, which was nearly as incomprehensible a volume as a Bradshaw. As an historical instance of the necessity I speak of, I may take the state of the navy in 1805, the year of Villeneuve's escape from Toulon, and of the battle of Trafalgar. It is now a matter of common assertion that at this time we had 181 ships of the line; yet such was the stress of the war, that Nelson was left blockading Toulon with only seven ships, and had to fight at Trafalgar with a numerical inferiority of about 20 per cent. The obvious deduction is that if 181 isn't sufficient, we ought to have 270 or 360, or whatever number is sufficient. Of course, on the other hand, economists begin to say that such numbers are

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preposterous; and so they are. For the fact is that in 1805 we hadn't 181 ships of the line, nor yet the half of them, and a slight examination shows what we had. The statement is thus shown by James, who is sufficiently accurate for purposes of mere illustration:

Ships of the line	in commission	83
„ „	in ordinary	33
„ „	for harbour service	39
„ „	building or ordered	26
		181

Now 'in ordinary' at that time meant being repaired or waiting to be repaired, but certainly not fit for service; 'harbour service' meant too utterly rotten to be sent out of harbour; 'building or ordered' speaks for itself; so that the outside number of effective ships was 83, and of these several were quite unfit to go to sea. Even of those that were at sea many were barely seaworthy. In Nelson's small squadron off Toulon, a relatively large proportion was very crazy; one or two were literally tied together—frapped is the technical word—with stout ropes to keep them from falling to pieces. When Nelson complained, St. Vincent, then First Lord of the Admiralty, wrote to him, 'We can send you neither ships nor men, and with the resources of your mind you will do without them very well.' 'Bravo, my Lord!' ejaculated Nelson, though what he wrote and what he acted on was, 'I have no fears of the event of a battle with six to their eight; yet if I can have eight to their eight, I shall not despise the equality.' Similarly, from the time of his joining the fleet off Cadiz on September 28, 1805, he never ceased imploring, urging the Admiralty to send him more ships. The country, he wrote, did not want merely an honourable victory gained by a small fleet over a large one; what it wanted was the annihilation of the enemy's fleet, and 'numbers only can annihilate.' He didn't get them, for the simple reason that, notwithstanding the 181 ships on paper, the Admiralty had none to send; and so, on

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October 21, he found himself with only 27 ships against 33 of the enemy.

But here comes in a question of very great and always present interest. How far was this numerical inferiority real? I do not refer to the insolent arithmetic of Napoleon, that two Spanish ships were to be counted as equal to one French, which would reduce the allied fleet to 25½ French. It is quite probable—perhaps I may say it is certain—that the Spaniards were very indifferent sailors, and manœuvred worse even than the French, who had no great cause for boasting; but as to their relative fighting efficiency, we have one very clear base of comparison. The 'Victory' followed by the 'Téméraire' broke into the enemy's line at a place mostly filled by French ships, and sustained a loss, in killed and wounded, of 282. The 'Royal Sovereign' and 'Belleisle,' in exactly the same way, broke in amongst a group of ships mainly Spanish, and their loss amounted to 267. Another comparison may be based on the number of ships captured in the battle; there were nine of each, and four French ships fell into our hands afterwards. It thus seems that, in point of fighting efficiency, there was not much to choose between them.

In questioning the inequality then, I did not refer to the Napoleonic arithmetic, but to another which has been repeatedly emphasised by Captain Mahan, viz., that a fleet composed of two different nationalities, or even different services, is at a disadvantage. It is impossible to say how far this disadvantage operated at Trafalgar. The French, of course, accused Gravina of disobedience of orders; of refusing or neglecting to take the position assigned to him &c.—so far as I know, without any adequate reason. But I think it highly probable that between the French and Spanish officers—and men—there was a feeling of jealousy and bitterness which prevented them cordially assisting, supporting, and co-operating with each other. We know, as certain facts, that, after the action off Cape Finisterre on July 22, in which the Spaniards lost two ships, they were loud in

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their complaints that the French had basely and cowardly sacrificed them; that, when the fleet got into Cadiz, every obstacle was put in the way of the French getting supplies of food or stores—the orders of the Spanish Government notwithstanding; that, in fact, there was a very great deal of ill-feeling before the battle, as there was also after it between those that escaped into Cadiz. I think we may assume that this was not laid aside, wholly and cordially, just for the one day; and that Frenchman or Spaniard did, sometimes at least, feel an unholy satisfaction at seeing a ship of his ally in difficulties, without any inclination to hasten to her assistance.

But naval history teems with examples of the same thing. After the action off Toulon, February 11, 1744, it virtually broke up the possibility of combined action between the French and Spaniards; and in our own history we can refer to the battle of Solebay on May 28, 1672; the three battles of 1673; the battle of Beachy Head in 1690; the battle of Barfleur in 1692. In all these the unity of spirit, which gives unity of action, was sadly wanting, and in every one of them our interests suffered accordingly. I might add that even within the recollection of many of us, this want of unity has been felt in the Baltic, in the Black Sea, and in China. I am speaking of what I have personal knowledge of; and have no hesitation in saying that in these campaigns the force of our allies would have been advantageously replaced by half the force of English men or ships under one undivided command.

It seems to me, therefore, that some writers of the present day ignore much of the teaching of history when they insist, as is so frequently done, on the necessity of our having a navy equal in numerical strength to those of at least two—but it is often said, to three or four—of the great powers of the world. Only this morning I was reading a memorandum from the Navy League setting forth the extreme danger threatening this country from a coalition of Russia, Germany, France, and the United States, if not also of Austria and

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Japan. I have every sympathy with the objects of the Navy League, and entirely agree with it as to the necessity of our maintaining a fleet equal to all possible emergencies; but I conceive the Navy League does not strengthen its arguments by the suggestion of impossible contingencies.

I had already arranged the matter which I have now put before you when Captain Mahan's newly published volume of essays fell into my hands. I have the highest opinion of Captain Mahan as a writer; and though I do not pin my faith on him or any authority other than the facts of history, it is a satisfaction to find that his interpretation of these facts is entirely in accord with what I have been saying. As there must be many here whom this little book has not yet reached, I will venture on an extract from the essay on 'Preparedness for Naval War.'

'It is not,' he says, 'the most probable of dangers, but the most formidable, that must be selected as measuring the degree of military precaution to be embodied in the military preparations thenceforth to be maintained. The lesser is contained in the greater; if equal to the most that can be apprehended reasonably, the country can view with quiet eye the existence of more imminent but less dangerous complications. Nor should it be denied that in estimating danger there should be a certain sobriety of imagination, equally removed from undue confidence and from exaggerated fears. Napoleon's caution to his Marshals not to make a picture to themselves—not to give too loose rein to fancy as to what the enemy might do, regardless of the limitations to which military movements are subject—applies to antecedent calculations, like those we are considering now, as really as to the operations of the campaign. When British writers, realising the absolute dependence of their own country upon the sea, insist that the British navy must exceed the two most formidable of its possible opponents, they advance an argument which is worthy at least of serious debate; but when the two is raised to three, they assume conditions which are barely

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possible, but lie too far without the limits of probability to affect practical action.'

As I conclude, I will offer you another sentence, from Captain Mahan's essay on 'A Twentieth Century Outlook.'

'Let us worship peace as the goal at which humanity must hope to arrive; but let us not fancy that peace is to be had as a boy wrenches unripe fruit from a tree. Nor will peace be reached by ignoring the conditions that confront us, or by exaggerating the charms of quiet, of prosperity, of ease, and by contrasting these exclusively with the alarms and horrors of war. Merely utilitarian arguments have never convinced nor converted mankind, and they never will; for mankind knows that there is something better. Its homage will never be commanded by peace presented as the tutelary deity of the stock-market.'

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THE NATIONAL STUDY OF NAVAL HISTORY

II. New Methods of Research

By HUBERT HALL, F.S.A.

Read December 16

In the present paper I propose only to refer to a single problem of the modern study of history, naval or otherwise—the exigencies of research.

Naval history is at length recognised as a subject of special study; it has its historians, its scholars, students, and the general readers of its special publications, and it has a large and powerful society which represents their literary interests.

It is to these that we shall look in future for the direction and development of the subject, but in the meantime it may be of interest to outside students to examine its present bearings.

It will be quite obvious that there are not only several totally distinct periods of the naval history of this country, but also that there are many widely different aspects or branches of the study of that history in every one of those periods.

For the present purpose it may be sufficient to indicate only one great division in point of time—the Restoration. Previous to the Restoration we may observe a comparatively rapid advance in naval science since the reign of Henry VIII. Subsequent to the Restoration we have an equally rapid advance for something like a corresponding period. Therefore, as we must begin our modern view of naval history somewhere, and as it would be equally misleading to begin

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it with the reign of Henry VIII. or with that of George II., the Restoration may do duty once more as a convenient landmark.

At the same time we are not necessarily bound to begin our modern description of naval affairs with the year 1660. It will be at once apparent that the period preceding the great French wars which lasted from 1689 to 1815, is nearly akin in political and strategical methods of naval warfare to the period preceding the Restoration. For all practical purposes, each period has a purely antiquarian interest. The naval administration of the Duke of York and Pepys at the close of the seventeenth century, reminds us of the naval reforms of the Duke of Buckingham and Coke at the beginning of the same century, whilst the Navy Papers of the period of the Dutch wars are of the same general character as those of the Armada period. For these and still earlier periods of naval history we are content to use the same methods of research as for any other branch of historical inquiry. And this, after all, is the true division of our study, the distinction between the materials which exist for the earlier period and the later.

In the latter, all the materials which have ever existed are preserved with but a few unimportant exceptions. The Ships' Books, the Lists of Officers, and other naval establishments; the Despatches of Admirals, Captains, even Lieutenants; the Minutes, Orders, Instructions, and Official Correspondence of the Admiralty Office, and not only for the Whitehall department, but for the Navy Board and the other detached departments, the Marine Office, the Treasurer's, Comptroller's, Surveyor's, Victualling and Transport Offices; the Medical Board, the Bill Office, the Storekeeper General's, Accountant General's, Ticket and other offices, the most ancient and independent of which possessed each a distinct and perfect collection of Records, extending back to the Revolution or even earlier.

It must be carefully borne in mind, therefore, that the year 1689 marks the beginning of a new period, not necessarily of

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naval architecture, or naval strategy, or nautical science, but of the system of compiling naval Records. At the same time as it would be impossible to fix this or any other year for the commencement of a new method of historical study, we have also to take account of the historical materials which exist from the year 1660, some of which, indeed, form an earlier series of the great official collections which have been above referred to.

The recognition of the origins of certain sources of later information during the period which lies between the Restoration and the Revolution does not of course affect the general historical character of that period, which really approaches most nearly to that of the earlier division of naval history. This early section, which extends back from the Restoration to an antiquity as remote as we may choose to assign to it, is sharply distinguished from that which succeeds it in respect of its historical materials. Here we have no series of ships' books or naval establishments, except a few stray journals and lists, and we experience considerable difficulty in supplying this absence of official information from other sources. The naval historian of this early period must become in very self-defence an archæologist. He must know the manuscript codices of every great collection, and he must be skilled to steer his course through the shoals of the mediæval Records; for hitherto our historians have been for the most part content with manuscript precedent books or treatises, and with printed tracts.

It is not the purpose of the present paper to examine the methods of this antiquarian research, but it may be noticed in passing, as a sign of the prevalent spirit of historical inquiry, that new sources of information have been recently explored in connection with what we may term the archæology of the subject. There is every reason to hope that the great scheme of the Navy Records Society, supplemented by the labours of individual students like Mr. Oppenheim, Mr. Tanner, M. Spont, and other competent antiquaries, will

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compel our national Records to yield up many secrets that are as yet hidden to us.[1]

Here, however, it is very important to proceed with system and method in our researches, not only noting what appears on the surface, but also seeking to account satisfactorily for the non-existence of that information which we believe to be required, and which we can also prove to have at one time existed. If any one were to apply this principle to the state of the English war shipping, furnished by the Cinque Ports during the thirteenth century, even the negative results of an exhaustive examination could scarcely fail to prove exceedingly instructive. The point which is suggested by the above distinction between an earlier and a later period of historical investigation would therefore seem to be that each period is distinguished, not so much by the general character of the subject-matter, as by the nature of the historical materials which exist for the purpose of its elucidation.

This view of the question may, perhaps, be emphasised by a consideration of the subject-matter itself, whereby it will be evident that although the same subjects of general interest exist both for the earlier period and the later, their entire significance is altered by the nature of the information that is available in each case. As an inevitable result of the disparity of this information, we find a tendency towards generalisation in the earlier period, and towards specialisation in the later.

There are students of naval history who are merely concerned with the political or strategical side of the subject—the influence of sea-power or the tactics of Hawke or Nelson. This indeed is a matter of interest, and even of speculation, in a still earlier period. It involves the statesmanship of Alfred and Edward and the seamanship of Howard and Blake; but these questions are on the whole subsidiary to the general political history of those times. The history which designs

[1] Mr. Marsden's scholarly edition of the High Court of Admiralty Records (Selden Society) and numerous interesting passages which may be found amongst the recent publications of the Rolls Series may be cited as instances in point.

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to trace the influence of sea-power will scarcely become full before the eighteenth century.

Again, we have in both periods a strong leaning towards the biographical treatment of the subject; but although a few Elizabethan and Stuart courtiers, soldiers, and poets who posed at times as naval commanders, have been singled out for individual treatment, the British 'Biographia Navalis' owes ninety per cent. of its contents to the Georgian era.

The structural history of the navy is a subject which, in the earlier period, becomes a vexed question of archæology, and in the later period an abstruse problem of science; but this scarcely justifies us in confusing the construction of round-houses and crows'-nests with that of armour-plating and steam boilers. On one side the meagre information is delved painfully from old surveys and accounts; on the other, it must be analysed, in statistical fashion, from a vast array of List Books, 'Sailing Qualities,' specifications and all the other materials which exist in the later department of the Surveyor-General of the Navy.[1]

The increasing modern interest which attaches to the study of nautical events for purposes of hydrographical or meteorological research can scarcely be said to have a counterpart at all in an earlier period. The most ancient record tempest to which the meteorologists refer is the great storm of 1703, whilst charts and soundings were a necessary accompaniment of the expansion of England in the middle of the eighteenth century.

We may take it then as something of a fact, or at least a phenomenon, that naval affairs in the earlier period which we have designated make for the general study of English history, and in a later period for the special study of naval history, so far as the respective methods of research are utilised to the fullest extent. It would, of course, be perfectly possible to compile an excellent and eminently readable history of the

[1] In one case within the knowledge of the present writer, an enthusiastic specialist spent several years of constant labour upon a fragmentary monograph of the subject.

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British Navy from 'Alfred the Great' to 'Charles the Martyr'; and again from the days of the 'Merry Monarch' or 'Dutch William' to those of the 'Sailor King,' without disturbing a single page or a single membrane of tracts or logs, despatches or account-rolls; but such are not the methods which can be commended. That the materials which have been referred to exist, and that they may even be supplemented by industrious searchers is indisputable. The question is not whether they ought to be utilized, for as to this all students are probably agreed, but how they may be used to the best advantage.

There are some of us who hold with more or less reason that the days of the making of general histories of England (except for educational purposes) are numbered. The tendency towards specialisation in historical studies is indeed sufficiently apparent, and the reason is unquestionably to be found in the vast accessions to the stores of the historical materials available for those studies. On the same showing, it might be concluded that the new materials, of which the existence is now well known, which must not be ignored, but which cannot possibly be utilised by any single writer for the purposes of a general history of the navy, must receive an adequate treatment on similar lines of special research. Indeed, it would seem as though modern students had practically answered the question for themselves, by attacking the *indigesta moles* of the Record Office and Museum, under the auspices of the 'Navy Records Society,' the 'Dictionary of National Biography,' and other organised undertakings. The next step may be in the direction of a Catalogue of MSS. and a Naval Bibliography; but herein we are apt to linger behind the scientific procedure of continental scholars. And yet such compilations offer, perhaps, the best solution of the difficulty. If the sources and materials which exist for any branch of historical study are fully known, it is open to every one who writes to use them as he thinks fit; but it is also open to all who read to know the use that has been made of them. This is merely a fair-dealing with the reader who takes his facts on trust, and it is merely an extension of the modern

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practice of adding a list of authorities used in serious works of reference.

By such a device as this, not only would the standard of the general history be considerably raised, but the need for special works as auxiliary authorities would be clearly indicated. History is, after all, a science of facts. The facts may be surprising, and they may even be unpalatable, whilst the effort to obtain them mostly involves some trouble. But when by however slow degrees the unalterable facts are known, as sooner or later they must be known, when the last rubbish heap of neglected Records has been explored, and the last word has been written upon the oft-written page of history, the mere knowledge of those facts will be power to the nation that has the wit to use them rightly.

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THE MEETING OF THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH AND CHARLES XII. AT ALTRANSTADT, APRIL 1707

BY A. E. STAMP, M.A.

Read March 17

THE two most interesting periods in the career of Charles XII. of Sweden are for many people, curiously enough, the two periods during which he did nothing—the two years spent at Altranstadt and the years spent at Bender. During the former period he engrossed the attention of all Europe; during the latter he was forgotten by the world. The stay at Altranstadt contained picturesque incidents—picturesque incidents, indeed, occurred almost every day of Charles's life. The visit of his *protégé* Stanislaus, the visit of his conquered enemy Augustus, would both afford material for the historical word-painter; but the incident which was fixed upon by contemporary Europe as a topic of wonder and speculation was the visit of Marlborough in the spring of 1707. From the common man's point of view, as something merely picturesque and extraordinary, nothing so wonderful had occurred in the memory of living men. It was the meeting of the two greatest men of their time, an event almost without precedent in history.

The interest was heightened by the suspicion that things had happened there which had never been made public. Stories were eagerly circulated, and accepted with equal eagerness. Marlborough was said to have bribed the Swedish Ministry. This was hotly denied, but the fact was persistently asserted. Finally, Voltaire in his 'Life of Charles XII.' stated

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authoritatively that no bribery had taken place; that Count Piper had indeed received a present, but this was with the knowledge and consent of his master.

But it was neither its picturesqueness nor its romance that made this interview a matter of feverish interest to the statesmen of Europe. They could no longer afford to see in Charles merely a great man, a successful general, and a magnificent and heroic figure; he was to them all that and something more: he was a most perplexing and difficult problem, to which Marlborough's visit was to furnish the key.

The conditions of the problem have often been stated.

In 1699 Charles XII. found himself attacked by Russia and Poland, while his ally, the Duke of Holstein, was attacked by Denmark.

With the aid of the maritime Powers, the guarands of the Peace of Altona, Charles forced Denmark to conclude with Holstein the Peace of Travendal. He then turned his attention to Russia and Poland.

The war was mainly the work of Patkul, a Livonian subject of Sweden, rebel or patriot, who had entered the service of Augustus, King of Poland and Elector of Saxony, and becoming his principal adviser, had negotiated the simultaneous attack on Sweden. The conduct of Augustus had especially excited the resentment of Charles, for at the time of concluding the alliance with Russia he was making protestations of undying friendship to Sweden.

From the first Charles was successful. He inflicted a crushing defeat on an enormously superior force of Russians at Narva. After this his armies appeared to be for the time invincible. He drove the Poles, Saxons, and Russians backwards and forwards through Poland, besides winning several pitched battles, and in the summer of 1704, within a few weeks of Blenheim, set up Stanislaus Leczynski as the opponent of Augustus on the throne of Poland.

The political problem was now developing. The neutrality of Saxony as part of the empire had hitherto been respected by the Swedes. Augustus, however, besides using

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Saxon troops, was able to use his electorate as a sort of sanctuary, where he could get not only shelter in time of need, but also money and reinforcements. It was obvious that this state of affairs could not last long. If Augustus was to be conquered, Charles must invade Saxony. Should he do so, and violate the territory of the empire, even putting out of account the intrigues of France, it was almost certain that some ground of quarrel must arise between him and the Emperor; in fact, there was one ready made, namely, the treatment of the Protestants of Silesia, of whom, as the successor of Gustavus Adolphus, Charles considered himself the natural protector. Besides, Saxony had troops, and a peace between Charles and Augustus would set these free, as well as those of Denmark, Holstein, and the smaller Protestant States of the empire, for the service of the Grand Alliance.

Accordingly, every effort was made by the allies to procure a peace, but under the conditions which prevailed it was impossible.

Charles lived the life of a general on active service: he saw no ambassadors, attended to no diplomatic correspondence, and refused to listen to his Ministers. These three obstacles together proved insuperable. This was demonstrated by the fate of an Embassy consisting of representatives of England, the Emperor, and the States, which attempted to wait on Charles in the winter of 1702. The ambassadors very soon discovered that they could not have audience with the King; that no diplomatic notes were read, except at Stockholm; and that it was of no use bribing the Swedish Ministers, as they had absolutely no influence with their master. As Robinson, the English ambassador, said himself, 'even the offers of large sums of money to the Swedish Ministers were as little attended to as our reasons. They knew they could not turn the King from his purpose, whatever it was.' So this attempt failed.[1]

[1] Robinson to Hedges, 19 July 1704. All Robinson's letters quoted will be found in Public Record Office, 'Poland,' vols. xix. and xx.

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In spite of his want of success, Robinson was not idle; he retired to Danzig to await events, and while there endeavoured to accomplish indirectly what he could not do directly. Eighteen months later he wrote: 'I am sorry I cannot readily think of a safe way to let the Ministers of Sweden know Her Majesty's concern for the King, their master, and his interests. I have not seen the face of one of them since October last, nor can hope to come near them so long as their affairs prosper; so that I am cut off from all means of communicating anything to them otherwise than by letter, and do not conceive it fit to open such matters that way, nor even what might concern themselves in particular. Neither do I perceive it is in their power to merit any considerable gratification.'[1]

In spite of this expressed opinion, Robinson went some way in seeking the favour of the Ministers. Casting about to find some 'civility of little charge' to show them, he found a worthy young Swede named Akerhielm, who, besides his other good qualities, had the additional recommendation of being brother-in-law to Cederhielm and Hermeline, the two secretaries under Count Piper. This young man was wishing to complete his education, and where could this be done better than at the University of Oxford? To Oxford he was sent accordingly, at Robinson's expense, for three years, at a cost of 150*l.* a year, 'which,' Robinson would say to his friend, the Secretary Harley, when the transaction was mentioned between them, 'I hope you will refund at Her Majesty's charge.'[2]

At last the movement which had been for so long foreseen and dreaded was made. During August 1706 Charles consolidated his forces, crossed the Vistula, and marched on Leipzig. This movement brought Augustus to his knees. Almost before the news of the invasion reached Danzig the peace of Altranstadt had been arranged. It soon became known that Charles was encamped for an indefinite time at Altranstadt, two German miles from Leipzig. Peace between

[1] Robinson to Hedges, 23/12 July 1704.
[2] *Ibid.* Robinson to Harley, 8 Dec., N.S., 1706.

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Charles and Augustus was now assured, but under circumstances very threatening to the Grand Alliance. Charles was now with his army in the heart of the empire, and Europe was left to wonder uneasily when and what would be his next move. At the moment there seemed to be some chance of finding out. For a time the strict military discipline hitherto observed in the Swedish camp, even in winter quarters, was relaxed. The Swedish Ministers were allowed to send for their wives. Foreign ambassadors were admitted, with their wives, on condition that when the campaign was renewed they should leave the camp at once. Both parties, France and the allies, proceeded to take advantage of the opportunity: ambassadors were sent by England, France, the Emperor, the States and minor Powers, and in a short time the camp was a centre of intrigue.

The Rev. John Robinson, the English ambassador, and his friend, the States envoy, travelled together from Danzig, and arrived at Leipzig November $\frac{1}{12}$, 1706.

Peace had already been concluded between Charles and Augustus, on terms most humiliating to the latter.[1] He was compelled to renounce the throne of Poland in favour of Stanislaus, Charles's nominee, retaining only the title of king; to surrender Patkul, who was at that time acting as Russian ambassador at the Saxon Court, and to allow Charles, with his army, to remain encamped at Altranstadt at the expense of Saxony until he should choose to depart. These were the principal conditions of the treaty which England, the Emperor, and the States were to be asked to guarantee. The treaty was, however, kept secret for a time, at the request of Augustus, apparently to enable him to hoodwink his good friend the Czar, and get hold of the Russian subsidy, while making himself safe from Russian vengeance; 'to finger a good sum of money expected from the Muscovites before the secret break out,' says Robinson.[2]

Although the position of Charles was not quite so commanding as it would have been had he invaded Saxony two

[1] Robinson to Harley, 3/14 Nov. 1706. [2] Same to same, 13/24 Nov. 1706.

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years earlier, before the battles of Blenheim and Ramillies, yet his movements were a matter of serious moment to the whole of Europe. He might pursue the war against Russia, or he might use his successes to secure an advantageous peace. Although a peace between Sweden and Augustus was eminently desirable in the interest of the Grand Alliance, peace between Sweden and Russia was not. The latter, on the contrary, was greatly dreaded by the allies, for no one doubted that Charles would turn his arms some other way; which way it was impossible to forecast. It was feared, indeed Louis XIV. himself thought, that his sympathies were with France, or at the best not favourable to the allies, and that he would intervene, forcing the allies to a disastrous peace, as he was quite strong enough to do, or even act against them, to their irretrievable ruin.[1]

This was the situation on Robinson's arrival at Altranstadt; complicated, moreover, by the King of Sweden's desire to secure the observance of the terms of the Peace of Westphalia for the Protestants of Silesia, and by one or two minor quarrels that arose between Charles and the Emperor after the peace with Augustus.

As the ambassadors were as yet without instructions, they did not at first seek an audience with the King. Robinson, however, who had been nearly thirty years among the Swedes, visited diligently among his old friends at the Swedish Court, especially his great friend, Count Piper, the Chancellor, trying to get an inkling of Charles's intentions. The result was not very satisfactory. He only succeeded in eliciting general expressions of His Majesty's good disposition towards the allies, in proof of which it was pointed out by Piper that His Majesty had refrained from entering Saxony for two whole years, until it appeared to him that he could do so without prejudice to them. With these general expressions of good-will the allies were forced for a time to be content.[2]

Other things occurred tending to produce alarm. A letter

[1] Robinson to Harley, 15/26 March, 1707.
[2] Same to same, 2/13 and 3/14 Nov. 1706.

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was published in Paris, purporting to come from Charles XII. to Louis XIV., by which the Swedish King was made to offer his mediation between France and her enemies. As this was just what had been dreaded all along, it caused considerable consternation. Charles angrily denied its authenticity, but the slow rate of travel of the time gave it an opportunity to produce some effect.[1]

Dissatisfied with the results of Robinson's efforts, and thoroughly alarmed, the Ministry in England, or rather Marlborough and those in his confidence, resolved on a decisive step. Marlborough determined to visit the Swedish camp in person, and if possible penetrate the King's designs. This decision was taken in the beginning of 1707, and communicated confidentially to the Grand Pensionary, Heinsius, who cordially approved.[2] Steps were at once taken by those in the secret to render the visit a success. Marlborough and Heinsius were both agreed that nothing was meanwhile to be said or done which could in any way offend his very susceptible Majesty.[3] Marlborough himself went about openly expressing the great admiration he had always felt for the King of Sweden, and the keen desire he experienced to make his Majesty's personal acquaintance.[4] These expressions were, of course, diligently reported at the Swedish Court, especially by the Hanoverian Minister, whose master was deeply involved in the negotiations.

Robinson, before he knew of the plan, had been asked which of the Swedish Ministers were most deserving of the favour of Queen Anne. The Elector of Hanover recommended Count Piper, the Chancellor; Hermeline, Counsel of the Chancery, and Cederhielm, Secretary to the Cabinet. Robinson made the same recommendation, and took the opportunity to put in a new request for reimbursement on account of his previous dealings with the two secretaries' brother-in-law 'Akerhielm,

[1] Robinson to Harley, 4/15 Jan. 1706/7.

[2] Vreede, *Correspondance diplomatique et militaire du duc de Marlborough, &c.*, Amsterdam, 1850, p. 219.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 35.

[4] Robinson to Harley, 1 Dec. 1706, N.S.

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who,' said Robinson rather pathetically, 'has been three years at Oxford at my charge, though I hoped it might have been at Her Majesty's.'[1] Robinson, too, went to work on his own account with Count Piper and his lady, and succeeded in discovering that nothing would give the Chancellor and his wife greater pleasure than the possession of a flock of English sheep. The exporting of sheep was strictly forbidden by law, and Robinson knew it, yet he forwarded the request to Harley, adding, as an inducement to the Ministers to break the law, that the sheep would very quickly deteriorate under the Swedish climate and no harm would be done. The Ministry, however, followed the Attorney-General's advice, and Robinson was obliged to give up the plan.[2]

He was all the more urgent that the three men recommended should be gratified without delay, the presence of their wives at Court, together with that of Mrs. Robinson, making the matter much easier to arrange in an informal way than it might be at any other time. Besides, the French ambassador was expected, and the two junior Ministers were thought to have leanings towards France, in spite of their brother-in-law's good fortune. It was known, too, that this same ambassador would be authorised to gratify both them and Piper to an enormous extent, if only they would persuade their master to offer his mediation.[3]

While affairs were being put in train for Marlborough's visit two other visitors arrived at Altranstadt, whose presence aroused some interest in Europe. The first of these was Stanislaus, Charles's *protégé*, the new King of Poland. The interest in his visit, in spite of his known partiality for France, was mainly ceremonial; his accession had not yet been recognised by the members of the Grand Alliance, and

[1] Robinson to Harley, 6/17 Nov. 1706, 8 Dec., N.S., 1706, 15/26 March 1707.

[2] Same to same, 8/19 March 1706/7, 4 May, N.S., 1707.

[3] Instructions to de Ricoux and his successor de Besenval, *Recueil des Instructions aux Ambassadeurs. Suède.* A copy of these instructions was in the hands of Marlborough. See Coxe, *Memoirs of the Duke of Marlborough*, ch. 54, vol. ii. p. 185 of 1818 edition.

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there was some difficulty about the exact amount of respect to be paid to him, without on the one hand endangering the dignity of the Powers, or on the other hand arousing the indignation of Charles. These difficulties were got over, but only with much trouble, on account of the Emperor's unwillingness to extend any recognition whatever to Stanislaus.[1]

The second visitor was the deposed King of Poland, Augustus, now merely Elector of Saxony. On his coming the King of France had built most extravagant hopes. He was to betray to Charles all the perfidy of the maritime Powers, especially of England, in the Holstein-Denmark affair, the double-dealing of Prussia, and the enmity of Hanover and the Emperor, and so arouse Charles's anger that he would turn and rend the allies. But either all these things had no existence outside the fertile brain of Louis, or Augustus was silent about them, or, what is equally likely, Charles, knowing him for an arrant liar, did not believe a word he said; at any rate, no harm came of it. Still, there was anxiety. 'The Prussian Minister seems to be most in pain,' says Robinson, 'as if some unfair dealings of that Court were like to be discovered, or perhaps things represented worse than they have been. The other Ministers hope better, and that neither the King of Poland'—*i.e.* Augustus, whose deposition was not yet recognised—'will venture to draw the King of Sweden into any dangerous measures, nor that King be misled by him.'[2]

Unfortunately, Augustus and Stanislaus both arrived at the same time, and Augustus being a very proud and punctilious person, infinite trouble was caused; and as both paid continual visits to the camp, awkward *rencontres* were continually occurring.

Such was the state of affairs when Marlborough arrived at the camp on April $\frac{15}{26}$, 1707. Charles had been at Altranstadt about six months, Augustus and Stanislaus about four. No progress had been made in discovering the King's

[1] Robinson to Harley, 7/18 Dec. 1706. Enclosure.
[2] *Ibid.* 7/18 Dec. 1706.

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intentions, and several new grounds of quarrel had arisen between him and the Emperor.

The hands of the allies had, however, been somewhat strengthened by the action of the Czar, Peter the Great, who had sent an Embassy with proposals for the admission of Russia into the alliance. Although the allies had no intention of agreeing to this, they might have been able, by pretending to listen to the proposals for a year or so, to prevent Russia making peace with Sweden, even should Sweden propose it. The Russian ambassador, Matvieff, who was charged with the negotiation, happening to reach the Hague on his way to London while Marlborough was there on his way to Leipzig, Marlborough heard from him the object of his mission, and accordingly arrived at Altranstadt as well informed of the state of politics as it was possible for him to be.[1]

The questions naturally asked about Marlborough's visit are two. Did he really make that outrageous compliment to Charles attributed to him by Voltaire and others? Had even Marlborough the brazen-faced audacity to say that he should like to serve a campaign under the King of Sweden, to learn what he did not yet know of the art of war? and did he bribe the Swedish Ministers?

With regard to the first question Voltaire seems likely to be correct. He says that he derived his information from the Duchess of Marlborough herself. He is supported by the French ambassador, whose account of the matter is contained in the intercepted letter quoted by Coxe. Now Hermeline, who was present the whole time, seems to have been in the pay of France, so that the French ambassador was likely to get fairly correct information. Moreover, such a compliment was not looked upon as extravagant in the Swedish Court at that time. A few weeks earlier, at the meeting of Charles and Augustus, a compliment, which was much remarked, was that of Field-Marshal Reenschiold, who

[1] Coxe, ch. 54. The details of Matvieff's mission are contained in Public Record Office, Russia, vol. ix.

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said that 'he could be well content that should be the last day of his life in which he had seen those two great Kings met together and so well united in affection.'[1] Now Augustus was one of the greatest knaves that ever sat on a throne. Besides, Marlborough's previous expression of admiration for Charles had prepared the way for it. Robinson says that Marlborough, on his entrance, made a short compliment in English, and we may well believe that this was part of it. With regard to the second point Robinson's evidence is conclusive. The Ministers received pensions—Piper 1,500*l.* a year, Hermeline and Cederhielm 500*l.* a year each; Hermeline to get 500*l.* more the first year.

Marlborough himself wrote a very short letter on the subject of his visit, merely saying that it was successful, and referring to Robinson's letters for details.

Robinson's two letters which give his account of the matter are as follows.

Robinson to Harley

Count Piper's Quarters 17/28 April 1707.

Rt. Hon.—On the 15/26 I rec[d] your honours 4 favours of the 21, 25, 28, past & 1st present old stile, while I was at Hall waiting for my Lord Duke of Marlborough's arrival, as also a packett for Mr. Cardonnel. To the contents of those letters most of which referr me to what I might expect to hear from His Grace I humbly take leave to return no other answer (being from home & somewhat pressed in point of time) than what relates to his Grace, who arriv'd that afternoon at Hall & being informed on the way from thence to the Swedish Quarters that the King of Sweden would give him audience the next day, His Grace thought fitt to go directly to Count Piper's quarters, where the Count made ample contestations how acceptable his grace's coming would be to the King his master & appointed eleven o'clock the next morning for his repair to the head quarters when His Majesty came from Church. His Grace went thence to the Quarter prepared for him about an English mile and a half from the King's and the next morning at the time appointed went to wait on His Maj[ty]. The Intendant of the Court with other officers received his grace and in the antechamber Ct. Piper, who conducted him into

[1] Robinson to Harley, 7/18 Dec. Enclosure.

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a cabinet, where the King was with several Senators Generals & other officers about him. His Grace made a short compliment in English, which I interpreted, as also the answer that was made by Count Piper. Afterwards his Grace spoke in French which His Majty understands but does not speak & the conversation was general for about an hour, when his majesty took his Grace with him to dinner placing him on his right hand, as Count Piper was on His Majtys left. After dinner his Grace returned with His Maty into the room of audience, which after a little while was voided by the rest of the company, and then his grace spoke at large, his Majty giving great attention to what was said, with all appearances of much content. Count Piper (who together with Mr. Hermeline stay'd with the King) could not refrain from shedding tears at the very pathetical expressions his Grace us'd, to assure the king of Her Majtys friendship : & on the King's part made suitable returns. Those discourses & others about military matters took up about an hour & half, when his Majty went again to Church. Afterwards his Grace made a visit to the Countess Piper, & had there a conference with the Count ; & after that went to see Feldmarshall Reenshield's lady.

The same evening Lieut. Gen[l] Wackerbardt came to his Grace with a complim[t] from King Augustus, who was come that day to Leipsig & I think after his Grace has waited on the King of Sweden at his breakfast & his Majty shall be gone to Leipsig to visit King Augustus, his Grace will follow thither, & after having waited on that king return to dine with Count Piper, & supp with Feldmarshall Reenshield & intends to morrow to take leave of his Majty & get as far on his way back as Hall that night.

I humbly pray your honours pardon, that for want of my cypher I add no more but the humble duty of

&c., &c.

In Robinson's of 19/30 Apr. 1707.

. . . In the evening his grace supped with Feltmarshall Reenshiold. The 29th his grace was visited by Ct Piper, Feltmarshall Reenshiold, Feltmarshall Ogilvi and many others and after having din'd with Baron Görtz had his audience of leave of the King of Sweden : before it was ended notice was given that King Stanislaus was in the antichamber whereupon his grace saying he had no objection ag[t] his coming in, the King of Sweden went and brought him. Some civilitys passed between that king and his Grace, who soon after took his leave and went to Leipsig, and thence without making any stay proceeded on his journey to Berlin.

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Robinson to Harley

19/30 Apr. : Leipsig.

My last of the 28th gave your honour an acct of his Grace my lord Duke of Marlborough's arrival and reception at Alt Ranstad ; yet I take leave to send the same again, together with what pass'd afterwards till his Grace's departure from hence last night about 6 in the evening, with hopes of being with the King of Prussia this night or to morrow morning.

Besides other matters transacted by his grace of which himself will give account, the affairs of Holstein came under his consideration in a conference his Grace had on that subject with Ct Piper Monsr Hermeline & Baron Götz the Holstein minister, at which I had also the honour to be present. At this conference it was agreed to make some alterations in the model of renunciation that Prince Charles of Denmark is to execute, in order to remove the objections that have been made ag^t^ the former draught & to provide for the case of the canons of Lubeck, that have lately been suspended by the administrator, as your honour will find by the enclosed. It was also agreed that the guarands of the treaty of Travendahl will by their several ministers at Copenhagen represent to the King of Denmark such motives as may be proper to prevail with his Maj^ty^ to give orders for making all requisite dispatch in redressing the grievances so much complained of ; which yet will perhaps not be thought necessary at present, in case the advices of this day prove true that the Commiss^rs^ on both sides are to begin their meeting the 2^d^ of May new stile. Nevertheless as the Holstein minister was very urgent that such representation be made to the court of Denmark & the Swedish ministers of the same minde, his Grace concurr'd in it & it was agreed that a draught should be made in such terms as may be sufficient for the purpose without giving to Denmark any just occasion of discontent. Mr Hermeline undertook to draw up that paper, but I have not yet received it from him.

In the mean time this concert has been approved by the King of Sweden, whose thanks his grace has received for it : & there is good reason to hope his Maj^ty^ will not depart from these common measures ; but be content that the necessary time be allow'd to transact the affair : as there appears on the other side great reason that Denmark should be willing to put an end to those disputes, that they may not hereafter furnish occasion for a breach, when the King of Sweden shall be at more leisure.

By his Grace's orders I have acquainted [1] *Count Piper, Mr Herme-*

[1] The italicised words are in cypher in the original.

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line and Cederheilm that her Majesty will give yearly pensions to the first fifteen hundred pound and to each of the other five hundred but the second *for the first time one thousand* and that the *first payment shall be made without delay.* Herewith his grace ordered me to acquaint your honour & supposes I shall with the first be informed therein. If your honour think fitt *the money may be paid to*

Mr Anthony Bothomly a merchant of London will apply to your honour about a business I have recommended to him & hope he being an honest & discreet man will give your honour content.

I am &c.

The visit was a complete success. Marlborough assured himself that the expressions of goodwill hitherto used by the Swedish Ministers were a true reflection of their master's mind, and that Charles would not intervene between France and the allies unless invited to do so by both parties. Henceforth the main source of uneasiness was removed.

The only danger still remaining was that of an independent rupture between Charles and the Emperor. This was with much difficulty surmounted, and eventually, after many months' delay, Charles, to the relief of the allies, broke up his camp and marched for Russia.

One other event directly connected with the subject of this paper occurred within a short time of Marlborough's visit. The Rev. John Robinson was repaid his 450*l.*

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THE SHERIFF'S FARM

By G. J. TURNER, B.A.

Read May 19

i. The mode of calculating the farms; ii. The results of calculating the farms in the reign of Henry II.; iii. The reality of and the reasons for the variations in the amounts of the earliest farms of the same reign; iv. Why some sheriffs accounted in blanched money, and others by tale; v. Why some allowances were made in blanched money, and others by tale; vi. The meaning of the schedules of combustions.

I.

A SHERIFF'S farm was the sum of money which he was required to pay annually at the Exchequer for his bailiwick. In virtue of this payment he was allowed to receive for his own use certain revenues paid to him in his official capacity. He was not entitled to all revenues so paid to him, but only to specific revenues; these he was said to farm. But he was not obliged to pay the whole of his farm directly to the king. In every year he would receive orders to apply portions of it in the discharge of all kinds of casual expenditure, civil, military, and domestic. He would also receive orders to apply other portions in the payment of annual salaries and fixed alms. Finally, he was allowed to make certain deductions from it for royal grants, by which the revenues farmed were diminished.

Twice in every year the sheriffs came up to the Exchequer to pay or account for their farms and all other sums due from them to the king since they last appeared there for the

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purpose of accounting. Their balance sheets are recorded on the Pipe Rolls, or Great Rolls of the Exchequer, as they are more properly called. Most students of medieval history have some acquaintance with these documents, but, as many of them have but vague ideas of their contents, it will be well to consider a typical entry. It must, however, first be observed that some sheriffs were obliged to account in blanched silver—that is, in silver of a certain fineness—and others by tale—that is to say, in the silver pennies which issued from the various mints then subsisting. The counties whose sheriffs accounted by tale were Cornwall, Cumberland, Northumberland, Rutland, Salop, and Sussex. The bailiff of the honour of Lancaster also accounted by tale. The sheriffs of Buckingham and Bedford, Cambridge and Huntingdon, Derby and Nottingham, Kent, Lincoln, London and Middlesex, Norfolk and Suffolk, and Warwick and Leicester, all accounted partly in blanched money and partly by tale. All the other sheriffs accounted in blanched money only. But they accounted for nothing except the farms of their counties in this way. The danegeld and all moneys which they received as the king's debt collectors, and the farms of all manors and property, for which, for one reason or another, they accounted separately from their counties, were accounted for by tale.

The farm of the county of Devon for the tenth year of the reign of Henry II. is thus stated on the Pipe Rolls for that year:—

Hugo de Ralega reddit compotum de firma de Deuenescira. In thesauro 18*l.* 8*s.* 1*d.* blancos.[1]

Et in elemosinis constitutis militibus de Templo o*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* Et canonicis de sancta Trinitate Lundonie 25*l.* 12*s.* 6*d.* numero.

Et in terris datis comiti Reginaldo 122*l.* 10*s.* o*d.* blancos de maneriis de Cornualia que pertinent ad firmam Deuenescire. Et

[1] Throughout this paper sums of money are printed in the modern style instead of in the actual words and letters by which they are represented in the rolls. So, too, sums of marks are printed in the corresponding sums of pounds, shillings, and pence.

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eidem 20*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* blancos in Cassewella et Depeford. Et infirmis de Bardestaplia 1*l.* 0*s.* 0*d.* blancos in Brantona. Et Regine 80*l.* 0*s.* 0*d.* blancos et 17*l.* 3*s.* 11*d.* numero. Et Roberto de Dunstanuilla 20*l.* 0*s.* 0*d.* numero in Culmintona.

Et in cameram curie Radulfo filio Stephani per breue regis 20*l.* 0*s.* 0*d.*

Et habet de superplus 9*l.* 4*s.* 0*d.* blancos.

With respect to this account, it will be observed in the first place that the amount of the farm of the county is not mentioned. It begins simply, 'Hugo de Ralega reddit compotum de firma de Deuenescira.' In order to ascertain its amount, it will be necessary to make a calculation, and the first question which will arise is, What arithmetical significance is to be attached to the word *blancos*, which occurs six times in the account? Does it bear any definite relation to the word *numero*? and is any particular number of silver pennies considered in the account to be the equivalent of a sum of money expressed to be paid or allowed in blanched money? The answer to these questions is that a sum of money reckoned by tale may be reduced to a sum of blanched money by making a deduction from it of one shilling in every pound.

The method of calculating the farm of this and other counties which has been adopted for the purposes of this paper is to arrange the sums paid, allowed, or owing, in blanched money in one column; and the sums paid, allowed, or owing, in money reckoned by tale in a second column; to reduce the amount obtained by the addition of the items composing the second column of figures by one shilling in the pound, and to add the sum thus reduced to the sum obtained by the addition of the items composing the first column. All sums mentioned on the roll which are described neither as sums reckoned as blanched money nor as sums reckoned by tale are treated as of the latter class. The method just described undoubtedly obtained in the Exchequer in the middle of the reign of Henry II.

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The farm of Devon for 10 Hen. II. may be thus tabulated :—

	Blanch				Tale.			
	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.	
	18	8	1			0	13	4
	122	10	0			25	12	6
	20	6	8			17	3	11
	1	0	0			20	0	0
	80	0	0			20	0	0
	242	4	9			83	9	9
	79	6	3		Deduct	4	3	6
	321	11	0	blanch		79	6	3	blanch
Surplus	9	4	0					
Farm	312	7	0	blanch.				

In making a deduction of one shilling in the pound it is impossible in many cases to decide how many pence ought to be deducted. In the above example six pence has been subtracted from nine shillings and nine pence ; which would be the exact deduction to be made for ten shillings. Where, however, the sum to be reduced is not a multiple of twenty pence, it is doubtful whether the practice of the Exchequer was to make the deduction, which ought to be made, on the multiple of twenty pence (whether larger or smaller) nearest to the sum to be reduced, or on the next larger multiple of twenty pence to that sum. It is obvious that as often as not the farm will differ by a penny, according as the one or the other method is adopted. Moreover it is by no means certain that the deduction was made on the sum of the items, and not on each individual item. If it were made on each individual item, the total deduction might differ by several pence from the deduction to be made on the sum of the items. In the calculations made for this paper it is assumed that the deduction which ought to be made is one penny on the multiple of twenty pence (whether larger or smaller) nearest to the sum to be reduced, but I am by no means convinced that this was the practice of the Exchequer, which, indeed, may have been not inflexible.

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The method which has been adopted in the example just considered, that the payments and allowances which are made by tale are to be subject to a reduction of one shilling in the pound, has been generally accepted as correct. When, however, that reduction is made, it has been found that in certain cases a different result is obtained for the same county in different years. That is to say, it has been found either that the amount paid as the farm of a county varied, or appears on the rolls to have varied, from time to time, or that the system of reducing the payments and allowances made by tale by one shilling in the pound was not in our earliest sheriffs' accounts universally adopted. The principal object of this paper is to ascertain at what date this system of reducing the sums for which allowances were made by tale first began.

II.

It has already been remarked that in the reign of Henry II. the account of a farm begins with words such as 'Hugo de Ralega reddit compotum de firma de Deuenescira,' without any statement of the amount for which he is to account. This method of enrolment was invariable until the last year of the reign of Richard I., when the amount of the farm of every county was expressly stated at the beginning of the account, thus: 'Radulfus Morin reddit compotum de 312*l.* 7*s.* 0*d.* blancis de firma de Deuenescira.' This reform was introduced in the accounts of every county in the same year, and was probably the suggestion of William of Ely, the new treasurer. If we were to look at the accounts of the different counties during any series of years in the thirteenth century, we should find that the farms which were rendered in blanched money, in all cases except London and Middlesex, remained invariable. But the total sum for which a sheriff was made to answer at the Exchequer was by no means invariable; it was often in-

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creased. The increase, however, was always accounted for by tale, and was described as the 'increment of the county.' The result was that the sheriffs extorted money out of the inhabitants of their counties in order to compensate themselves for this additional charge. It was to prevent such an abuse that the Magna Carta of 1215 contained this clause:—

Omnes comitatus, hundredi, wapentakii et trithingi sint ad antiquas firmas absque ullo incremento exceptis dominicis maneriis nostris.[1]

But although the farms were, in fact, increased in this way, 'the increments' were, on the Pipe Rolls, always kept apart from the accounts of the farms of the counties. The sheriff would first of all account for the amount of the farm of his county as it used to be; afterwards he would render an account of the increment, the two accounts being kept quite distinct from one another.

It will be interesting to compare these farms of the last year of Richard I. with the farms of the early years of the reign of Henry II. I have calculated the farms of all the counties for the fourteenth year of the latter reign, and also, with a few exceptions, those for the four preceding years. It will be found that in four cases only do the amounts accounted for differ from those of the last year of Richard I. except by a few pence. These cases are the counties of Essex and Hertford, of which the farm in 14 Hen. II. was 644*l.* 17*s.* 4*d.* blanch, instead of 645*l.* 2*s.* 4*d.* blanch; the counties of Nottingham and Derby, in which the farm in 14 Hen. II. was 359*l.* 5*s.* 11*d.* blanch, instead of 279*l.* 5*s.* 11*d.* blanch; the counties of Norfolk and Suffolk, in which the farm was 749*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* blanch, instead of 790*l.* 2*s.* 0*d.* blanch; and, lastly, London and Middlesex, in which the farm was 500*l.* 0*s.* 0*d.* blanch and 22*l.* 0*s.* 0*d.* by tale instead of 300*l.* 0*s.* 0*d.* blanch.

The farm of Essex and Hertford was raised to 645*l.* 2*s.* 4*d.* blanch in 16 Hen. II., but the reason for the change is not

[1] This clause was omitted from the subsequent issues of Magna Carta.

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disclosed on the roll. The farm of London and Middlesex was calculated at 300*l.* 0*s.* 0*d.* blanch for the first time in the third year of Richard I. In the preceding year it was a little short of 300*l.* 0*s.* 0*d.* blanch, but in 1 Ric. I. earlier it amounted to 500*l.* 0*s.* 0*d.* blanch and 22*l.* 0*s.* 0*d.* by tale, as in the fourteenth year of Henry II. In this case also there is nothing in the account which suggests any reason for the change. The farm of Nottingham and Derby was 359*l.* 6*s.* 11*d.* blanch in the last year of Henry II. In the first year of Richard I. the two counties were granted to John, Count of Mortain, the king's brother, as a county palatine. When they were again seised into the king's hand five years later, their sheriff farmed them for 279*l.* 5*s.* 11*d.* blanch; but he also farmed the manor of Wirksworth in the county of Derby for 80*l.* 0*s.* 0*d.* blanch. As he had farmed this manor in the reign of Henry II. as part of the farm of the county, the change in the amount of the farm was merely an apparent change. The blanch farm of Norfolk and Suffolk was raised from 749*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* in 17 Hen. II. to 750*l.* 2*s.* 0*d.* It was again raised to 790*l.* 2*s.* 0*d.* either in 26 Hen. II., or perhaps in one of the four preceding years.

The farms of the counties in the tenth, eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth years of Henry II. were in general the same as those in the fourteenth year of the same king. The farms, however, of Essex and Hertford, of Norfolk and Suffolk, and of London and Middlesex, which, as we have seen, were altered some time before the last year of the reign of Richard I., require especial notice. The farm of Essex and Hertford was the same in 12 Hen. II. and 13 Hen. II. as in 14 Hen. II.; but I have not as yet calculated it for 10 Hen. II. and 11 Hen. II. The farm of Norfolk and Suffolk was also uniform during this period, except that in 10 Hen. II. and 11 Hen. II. the sheriffs accounted for 100*l.* 0*s.* 0*d.* by tale as well as 749*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* blanch. The farm of London and Middlesex was for the years 11 Hen. II. and 12 Hen. II. 500*l.* 0*s.* 0*d.* blanch and 22*l.* 0*s.* 0*d.* by tale; but for the 10 Hen. II. it was 499*l.* 10*s.* 5½*d.* blanch and 22*l.* 0*s.* 0*d.*

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by tale; and for the 13 Hen. II. it was 500*l.* 0*s.* 0*d.* blanch only. I am inclined to think that both these variations are due to the clerical omissions of the person who made up the roll.

The net result of the examination of these figures is that by the tenth year of the reign of Henry II. all the sums for which the sheriffs had to account in blanch were then fixed, but in three cases they were permanently altered at different dates, but in all of them before the last year of the reign of Richard I.; that the king occasionally exacted a further sum of money for which the sheriffs accounted by tale; that such sums were at first treated as part of the farm of the county, but at the beginning of the next century were enrolled after the farms, and as increments. There can be little doubt, also, that in those counties where a sheriff accounted partly in blanch and partly by tale, the money for which he accounted by tale was in the nature of an increment.

If we were to calculate the farms of the different counties during each of the eight years preceding the tenth year of the reign of Henry II., we should find that in nearly all cases the farms varied from year to year during portions of the period. But most of the farms ceased to vary as early as the fifth year of the reign. This was so in the counties of Berks, Buckingham and Bedford, Cumberland, Derby and Nottingham, Devon, Dorset, Hereford, Kent, Leicester, Salop, Somerset, Stafford, Warwick, Worcester, and York. In the rest of the counties the farms ceased to vary at different years, and all of them had become constant before the tenth year of the reign. In a few cases, however, there is some little doubt. Thus the farm of the county of Hereford in the fifth year of the reign was 164*l.* 16*s.* 4*d.* blanch, and in every year after the eighth it is substantially the same, differing at the most by a few pence. But in the sixth and seventh years the farm seems to have been 153*l.* 4*s.* 6*d.* blanch and 165*l.* 1*s.* 7*d.* blanch respectively. My calculations in both cases are based upon the printed text, and it is possible that a reference to the roll will disclose some

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error, the correction of which will show that the farm was the same in these two years as in the year preceding and the years succeeding them. But, even if the printed text is correct, it is still possible that the clerk who transcribed the roll has made mistakes. The Pipe Rolls of the twelfth century were undoubtedly very carefully compiled, but they occasionally contained clerical errors. The farm of the counties of Nottingham and Derby was 359*l.* 5*s.* 11*d.* blanch and 40*l.* 10*s.* 0*d.* by tale throughout the reign of Hen. II. If it be calculated it will be found year after year to amount almost exactly to this sum. But in 32 Hen. II. the farm was only 349*l.* 5*s.* 11*d.* blanch and 40*l.* 10*s.* 0*d.* by tale. It is virtually certain that the difference of 10*l.* 0*s.* 0*d.* blanch is due to the omission of a numeral 'x' from the roll.

Occasional errors will also be found in the printed text of the Pipe Rolls published by the Pipe Roll Society (5 Hen. II. to 21 Hen. II.), which in some cases affect the proper calculation of the farms; but, speaking generally, they are printed with great accuracy. I have not as yet tested the three rolls which were printed by the Record Commission in 1843 'under the care of the Rev. Joseph Hunter.' Some unfortunate errors appear in the index, which tend to discredit the whole book. Thus in the account of the farm of Kent for 3 Hen. II. there is an entry, 'et gubernatori et nautis snecce regis 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*,' where the word 'snecca' denotes a ship. In the index there is a reference to this entry, thus: 'SUECCE REX.' The compiler evidently thought that *Snecca* was the name of a country and not the Latin for a ship. It is because the printed text of these three rolls seems unsatisfactory that I have not, except in a few instances, included particulars of the account of the farms recorded upon them in the appendix to this paper.

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III.

We can now return to the question whether the change in the amount of the farm was a reality, or was merely an apparent change due to some different system of calculation which obtained in the early years of the reign. It seems to me that there was no change in the system. The principal reason for this opinion is as follows. It frequently happened that at the end of a year a sheriff owed some money in respect of his farm. In most counties it would be a sum of blanched money. In the following year he would be allowed a certain sum of blanched money for a payment into the treasury; he would be allowed certain sums for disbursements made by tale; and he would owe a sum of blanched money. In these cases the account will generally balance if we make the usual deduction of one shilling in the pound from such disbursements, and this even in years when the farm of the county varied from what it afterwards became. Nor is it probable that this system of deduction was applied in some cases and not in others. If any other rates of deduction obtained in particular counties, there would almost certainly be some evidence of it apparent on the face of the rolls.

Another and perhaps more cogent reason will be found in the following list of farms rendered by the sheriff of Northumberland during the early years of Henry II.

	£	s.	d.	
4 Hen. II.	240	0	4	numero
5 Hen. II.	234	10	4	„
6 Hen. II.	222	0	4	„
7 Hen. II.	267	17	9	„
8 Hen. II.	240	0	4	„
9 Hen. II.	240	0	6	„
10 Hen. II.	240	8	4	„
11 Hen. II.	240	18	4	„
12 Hen. II.	240	18	4	„
13 Hen. II.	240	18	4	„
14 Hen. II.	240	18	4	„

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Northumberland was one of those counties whose sheriffs accounted by tale and not in blanched money. The sum for which they accounted varied considerably until the tenth year of the reign, from which time it remained constant at 240*l.* 18*s.* 4*d.* by tale. As no question of the relation of allowances in blanch and allowances by tale can arise in this county, it is clear that the variation must be a reality. But if the variation was a reality in one county, there is no reason why it should not have been a reality in another.[1]

I think that the explanation of the difficulties which the farms of the sheriff present during the first five years of the reign of Henry II. is to be found in the political circumstances of the time. No pipe rolls exist for the reign of Stephen; and it has been suggested that there were no such rolls during the last years of his reign, the kingdom being then in too unsettled a state for the holding of any sessions of the Exchequer. There is little evidence in support of this proposition. The only pipe roll which now exists of an earlier date than 2 Hen. II. is a roll for 31 Hen. I. The mere absence of rolls for the last years of the reign of Stephen is, therefore, no more remarkable than their absence during the last years of the reign of Hen. I. or the early years of his own reign. On the other hand there is an entry on the pipe roll of 2 Hen. II. which supplies evidence in an opposite sense. It is this: 'Wiltescira. Comes Patricius reddit compotum de firma de Wiltescira tercii anni de 3*l.* 12*s.* 3*d.* blancos;' which can only mean that the earl rendered an account of the farm of Wilts for the year before the accession of Henry II. The expression 'firma tercii anni' is invariably used to describe the farm of the last year but one before the year of the roll on which the expression occurs, the farm of the last year being described as 'firma anni preteriti.' But if the earl, who accounted as a sheriff, paid farm for the last year of Stephen, other sheriffs no doubt did likewise; and there was probably a pipe roll on which the accounts of their

[1] The farm of Salop, which was reckoned by tale, also fluctuated during the early years of Henry II. See the Appendix to this paper.

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farms were recorded. Still there can be no certainty on the point. Nor should it be forgotten that in 20 Hen. II., the time of the great rebellion, the king lost much of his revenue. The rolls of that year and of 21 Hen. II. contain many entries, such as, 'Et debent . . . qui remanserunt propter werram,' and this although the Exchequer and its practice had now become very firmly established.

The difficulties caused by the want of pipe rolls for the reign of Stephen are increased by the fact that there now exists no such roll for the first year of the reign of Henry II.; but some entries in the 'Red Book of the Exchequer' show that there once existed a pipe roll for that year, or some document in the nature of a pipe roll. The 'Red Book' also contains extracts from other pipe rolls of the reign of Henry II., a collation of which with the originals testifies to the accuracy of its compiler. It may therefore be assumed that the entries in the 'Red Book,' which are probably extracts only, do faithfully represent some portion of the original pipe roll of 1 Hen. II.

Unfortunately the extracts are themselves so difficult of interpretation that they can throw little light on the history of the farms of the sheriffs during the early years of Henry II.; but there is ample evidence in the earliest pipe rolls from 2 Hen. II. onwards that the Exchequer was in a state of confusion and disorganisation on the accession of the new king. It is abundantly clear that year by year the rolls were compiled with greater care, and with an increasing accuracy of expression; that a uniform course of rendering accounts was adopted only by slow degrees; and that many years elapsed before the king succeeded in making his sheriffs render to him all that they ought to render.

The carelessness with which the earliest rolls were compiled is remarkable. There are entries which state that a sheriff owes a certain sum of money to the king. Nothing is said to show that the debt is a sum of blanched money; the word 'blancos' is not written after the sum, the absence of which at a later date would mean that the debt was intended

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to be discharged by tale. It is only by referring to the roll of the succeeding year that it becomes apparent that the debt was intended to be discharged in blanched money.

Thus the account of the farm of Devon for 2 Hen. II. ends with the words, 'Et debet 61*l.* 15*s.* 5*d.*' In the following year the Devonshire account begins, 'Ricardus de Redueirs reddit compotum de 61*l.* 15*s.* 5*d.* blancis de veteri firma.' It is clear that the word 'blancos' is omitted from the earlier account. So, too, the last words of the account of the farm of Herefordshire for 2 Hen. II. are, 'Et debet 18*l.* 3*s.* 5*d.*' In 3 Hen. II. the account of this debt is thus stated: 'Et idem vicecomes reddit compotum de 18*l.* 3*s.* 5*d.* de veteri firma. In thesauro liberauit in argento blanco. Et quietus est.'

Mistakes such as these at the end of an account are capable of detection, but there is no means of ascertaining whether 'In thesauro 31*l.* 4*s.* 6*d.*' means 'In thesauro 31*l.* 4*s.* 6*d.* blancos' or 'In thesauro 31*l.* 4*s.* 6*d.* numero.'

Other careless mistakes of a different kind can be found on these early rolls. Thus in the account of Ferendon for 2 Hen. II. this passage occurs: 'Et in terris datis. Warino filio Geroldi 5*l.* 0*s.* 0*d.* blancos. Et monachis de Wurda 32*l.* 0*s.* 0*d.* blancos. Et Radulfo de Wirec' 16*l.* 10*s.* 0*d.* blancos. Et Willelmo filio Baldwini 4*l.* 0*s.* 0*d.* blancos in Bernintuna. Et in eadem villa Canonicis de Lantoeni 4*l.* 0*s.* 0*d.* blancos. Summa 61*l.* 0*s.* 0*d.* blanci.' Here the addition is obviously wrong; the total should be '61*l.* 10*s* 0*d.* blanci.'

Again, there seems to have been great uncertainty about the mode for making allowances for lands granted by the king. On some of the early rolls an allowance will be made in blanched money, in others the same allowance will be made by tale. Thus in 2 Hen. II., in the farm of Staffordshire, the allowances for lands granted are: 'Monachis de Bordeslea pro 10*l.* 0*s.* 0*d.* per breve regis. Et Waltero Hose 8*l.* 0*s.* 0*d.* in Pencrick. Et in Trentham cum pertinentiis 30*l.* 0*s.* 0*d.*' In the rolls of the three following years the same allowances are made by tale. But in 6 Hen. II. the allowances to the monks of Bordsley and Walter Hose are blanched; and in

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7 Hen. II. and always afterwards all three allowances are blanched. Even the amount of the allowance was in some cases not established at the beginning of the reign; thus in 2 Hen. II. the allowance for Kerswill and Diptford, in Devonshire, was 20*l.* 6*s.* 4*d.* blanch; in 6 Hen. II. it was changed to 20*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* blanch. The change may have been due to an additional grant, but more probably it was due to some arithmetical adjustment of the accounts.

At the beginning of the reign of Henry II. the energy of his ministers was directed to the discovery of his rights and sources of revenue rather than to the establishment of a perfect system of accounting. They were determined that no revenue should fail him on account of the destruction of property during the civil war. Accordingly soon after his accession they directed money to be spent 'in restauracione maneriorum comitatus.' Allowances for this purpose will be found in the accounts of the sheriffs of nearly every county in the second year of his reign. In the tenth year of the reign special efforts must have been made to recover possession of all lands for which the king had not been receiving his proper revenue, for on the pipe roll of the next year there are in most of the counties groups of entries entitled 'De Purpresturis et Escaetis.' It is impossible not to connect these entries in the roll of 11 Hen. II. with the fact that there are no entries described as 'Nova Placita et Nove Convenciones' in the roll of 10 Hen. II. The 'Nova Placita' appear in the pipe roll of every other year of the reign except the second, which was, as we have seen, one of exceptional activity with the revenue officials; so it is probable that both in 2 Hen. II and in 10 Hen. II. the king's ministers were too busy in endeavouring to secure for the king outstanding property to transact all the ordinary business of the exchequer. Officials who could not find time for the transaction of their ordinary business were not likely to devote much energy to considering the form of the accounts rendered to them. But after 10 Hen. II., when the king's revenue seems to have been

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well ascertained, the rolls were more carefully kept, and clerical errors and ambiguities become scarce.

It has already been stated in this paper that the amount of the farms for which a sheriff had to account was not mentioned in the pipe roll itself until the last year of Richard I. The 'Dialogus Scaccarii' says that the amounts which the sheriffs were required to pay as their farms were stated in a roll called the Exactory Roll. Unfortunately we have as yet no satisfactory text of this important treatise; it is impossible to say at what date or dates it was written; and until it is critically edited, its statements must be received with caution. The exactory roll, of which the 'Dialogus Scaccarii' speaks, may have been something very different from the exactory roll—if any such roll existed—of the early years of Henry II. It is probable that there was such a roll, and that it was not merely a statement of the total amounts for which the sheriffs had to account, but a list of the various items which made up those amounts. The items may have been arranged differently in different counties; but the revenue derived from the royal manors may have formed one item, the revenue from the cities and boroughs within the county another item, the profits of the county court a third, and so on. Now if the financial arrangements of the county were in a state of disorganisation and confusion on the accession of the new king—and on this point the facts of history and the evidence of the pipe rolls are in agreement—the sheriffs may have had bitter disputes with the king as to what was their liability for their farms. If there were pipe rolls for the reign of Stephen, individual sheriffs may nevertheless have rendered no accounts, and when they were called upon to render them again they no doubt had very plausible reasons for refusing to pay all that was asked of them.

In 2 Hen. II. the sheriff of Devon, after accounting for his farm and the danegelt of the county, rendered an account of the farm of certain manors. These manors were always afterwards farmed by him separately from the county. So too the other sheriffs rendered separate accounts year by year

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of the farms of various manors which had come into the king's hands by forfeiture or escheat. It may easily be imagined that at the beginning of the reign the Exchequer officials claimed that the farms of certain of these manors were items in the farms of the counties in which they were situate, and that the sheriffs were liable to account for them in blanched money. Disputes of this kind may explain some of the fluctuations in the farms of the counties on the earliest pipe rolls; while other fluctuations may be explained by such clerical errors and want of system in enrolment as have already been described.

IV.

It has been seen that the sheriffs of five counties accounted for them by tale. The reason for their doing so is thus explained in the 'Dialogus Scaccarii:'—

Discipulus. Nunquid de omnibus comitatibus firma blanca solvi debet vel ex omnibus comitatibus examinacio fieri?

Magister. Non; sed qui de antiquo iure corone regie annominantur sic soluunt. Qui vero per incidentes aliquos casus infiscantur, solo numero satisfaciunt; quales sunt Salop, Sudsex, Northumberland, et Cumberland.

Besides the counties here mentioned the sheriffs of Cornwall, Rutland, and Lancaster were allowed to account in the same way.

The county of Cornwall was during the first twenty years of the reign of Henry II. held by Reginald, Earl of Cornwall, as a county palatine. After his death it was in the hands of the Crown, and was farmed by a sheriff, until Richard I., shortly after his accession, granted it to his brother John, Count of Mortain, who rendered no account for it at the Exchequer. Later Henry Fitz-Count and Richard the brother of Henry III. enjoyed it with the same immunity

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from accounting. It is highly probable that, prior to the reign of Henry II., whenever there were Earls of Cornwall that county was palatine. As to Rutland and Lancaster, it is sufficient to observe that they were not counties at the time of the Norman conquest, and the statement in the 'Dialogus Scaccarii' can be considered applicable both to them and Cornwall as easily as to the four counties it specially names.

But besides the sheriffs of the counties there were certain other bailiffs who farmed their bailiwicks, some of whom accounted for their farms in blanched money and not by tale. Of such bailiwicks the most important were Bosham in Sussex, Mienes in Hampshire, and Ferendon in Berkshire. The history of Bosham is instructive. In 2 Hen. II. and 3 Hen. II. the sheriff of Sussex rendered accounts of 42*l.* 0*s.* 0*d.* blanch as the farm of Bosham. No account appears upon the pipe rolls for seven years, probably because the bailiwick had been granted to some person to be held without the burden of accounting. In 11 Hen. II., however, and in the two following years the sheriff of Sussex rendered accounts for Bosham. The amounts of the farm for which he accounted were sums of money reckoned by tale and differing in all three years. But in the last year 13*l.* 12*s.* 4*d.* was spent in improvements to the manor; and the roll states that the farm is henceforth to be 43*l.* 0*s.* 0*d.* blanch (which was substantially the old farm of 2 Hen. II.), and also 57*l.* 0*s.* 0*d.* by tale, together with lastage. Here then we have a case where a bailiff accounts in blanched money; no account is rendered for several years; a short period elapses during which there is evidently doubt as to what ought to be paid; finally, the doubt is set at rest, and the bailiff has to pay his old blanched farm and an increment; but the increment is reckoned by tale.

On the whole it seems probable that the farms of the counties in the reign of Henry II. were considered as having been fixed at some date prior to his accession. What precisely that date was cannot be discussed here. Those sheriffs whose predecessors in office had then been required

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to account in blanched money were still required to do so, and to account for the same amount. Those sheriffs, on the other hand, who had no predecessors in office at the date when the farms were considered as having been fixed—that is to say, the sheriffs of those counties which were then palatinate—were afterwards allowed to account by tale. The bailiffs of all bailiwicks which were in the hands of the Crown at the same date were required to account in blanched money, just as the majority of the sheriffs. But the bailiffs of all bailiwicks which afterwards came into the king's hands were allowed to account by tale just as the sheriffs of the counties which had been palatinate.

Another reason has been advanced for the sheriffs of some counties accounting in blanched money while others accounted by tale. It has been suggested that those who were allowed to account by tale were sheriffs of counties in which there were no mints. In support of the theory some words in the following passage have been cited from the 'Dialogus Scaccarii' (Liber Primus):—

Et nota quosdam comitatus a tempore regis Henrici primi et in tempore regis Henrici secundi licite potuisse cuiuscunque monete denarios solucioni offerre, dummodo argentei essent et ponderi legitimo non obstarent; quia scilicet monetarios ex antiqua institucione non habentes undecunque sibi denarios perquirebant; quales sunt Norhumberland et Cumberland. . . . At postquam rex illustris cuius laus est in rebus magnis excellencior, sub monarchia sua per uniuersum regnum unum pondus et unam monetam instituit, omnis comitatus una legis necessitate teneri et generalis comercii solucione coepit obligari. Omnes itaque idem monete genus, quomodocunque teneantur, soluunt; sed tamen examinacionis que de combuscione prouenit iacturam omnes non sustinent.

It is difficult to see how the first part of this passage bears out the theory; for it shows little more than that Cumberland and Northumberland had no mints. In order to prove that this is the reason why the sheriffs of certain counties were allowed to account by tale, it will not be sufficient to show that there were no mints in these counties; it will be necessary to show

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that there were mints in all the other counties. It is impossible to discuss here the evidence which the coins themselves supply on this point, but a very cursory inspection of it will suggest that it does not support the theory. The second part of the passage shows that at one time the law of legal tender was not the same in the counties which had mints and in those which had none; that afterwards all the counties were placed on the same footing as regards legal tender, but some counties were still allowed to retain a privilege in another matter—namely, exemption from the liability to combustion. The theory just discussed is based upon the false assumption that a payment in blanched money was a particular form of tender—a payment in fine silver. It will be shown presently that it was a payment made in coin of legal tender, but one subject to a certain deduction.

V.

The 'Dialogus Scaccarii' professes to explain also why certain allowances were made in blanched money and others by tale:—

Cum ergo rex fundum aliquem alicui contulerit simul cum hundredo vel placitis que ex hoc proueniunt dicunt fundum illum illi blancum collatum; ac cum retento sibi hundredo (per quod firma dealbari dicitur) simpliciter fundum dederit, non determinans cum hundredo vel blancum, numero datus est.

The meaning of the five words here printed in brackets is doubtful, but they are clearly parenthetical, and the whole passage can be read without them. When the king gives anybody an estate,[1] together with the hundred, that is, the profits of the courts of the estate, the property is said to be given in blanch; when the king grants an estate, but retains its hundred or the profits of its courts, the property is said to be

[1] The only allowances which were made in blanched money were, except in the early years of Hen. II., allowances for lands granted.

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given by tale. By this is meant that in one case the allowance is in blanch, and in the other it is by tale. The reason of this distinction is simple enough. It has already been remarked that the farm of a county consisted of an aggregate of the farms of certain sources of revenue, of which the royal manors within the county were among the most important. Now the royal manors were often manors in which the hundred courts were held; and when the king granted a manor he usually granted with it the hundred court, or if there were no hundred court, then the manor court. In fact, in the west of England a hundred court was considered to be appendant to the manor in which it was held, and to pass without express mention in a grant of the manor. Thus the allowance to be made to a sheriff where a manor was granted with a hundred was easily ascertained. It was the part of the farm derived from that manor. But where the king granted a manor without its hundred, or without any other court which might be appendant to it, or where he granted so many acres of land out of a manor, there was no obvious sum which ought to be allowed to the sheriff. The amount would be assessed, and an allowance made in tale according to the assessment. The manors of Cassewell and Depeford, or, as they are now called, King's Kerswill and Diptford, will supply a good illustration. Henry II. granted these two manors to his uncle Reginald, Earl of Cornwall. The allowance made to the sheriff for this grant was 20*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* blanch, the entry on the pipe roll being 'et eidem (comiti Reginaldo) 20*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* blancos in Cassewell et Depeford.' In 21 Hen. II. Earl Reginald died without issue. These manors were seised into the king's hands, and for the next two years were farmed by William, the son of Stephen. On the pipe rolls, in place of the old entry of the allowance, there is a new entry, 'et in Cassewell et Depeford quas idem comes habuit 20*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* blancos de quibus Willelmus filius Stephani debet reddere compotum.' After 24 Hen. II. this new entry disappears, the two manors being henceforth farmed by the sheriff; there is no entry at all relating to them upon the pipe rolls.

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In 5 Rich. I. the king granted the same two manors to Henry Fitz-Count, a bastard son of Reginald, Earl of Cornwall. Henceforth, there is an entry on the pipe rolls, 'et Henrico filio comitis *20l. 6s. 8d.* blancos in Cassewell et Depeford.' It is clear that these two manors and their appurtenances were considered to contribute the sum of *20l. 6s. 8d.* blanch to the farm of the county of Devon; and when they were not farmed by the sheriff he had an allowance of that sum made in his accounts.

The manors of King's Kerswill and Diptford were the chief manors of the hundreds of Haytorre and Stanborough. In the thirteenth century the two hundreds and the two manors were in the same hands; but it seems certain that when the manors were granted the hundreds passed with them. The grant to Henry Fitz-Count fortunately still exists. Its operative part begins thus :—

Sciatis nos dedisse et concessisse et presenti carta confirmasse dilecto et fideli nostro Henrico filio comitis manerium de Carsuill' et manerium de Depeford que sunt in Deuonia et manerium de Liscaret in Cornubia cum pertinentiis tenenda de nobis et heredibus nostris ipsi et heredibus suis per seruicium feodi unius militis pro omni seruicio.

Nowhere in the grant are the hundreds mentioned, although they undoubtedly passed. In the 'Testa de Nevill' there is a reference to the grants of these manors.

Rex Henricus pater domini regis I. dedit Reginaldo comiti Cornubie manerium de Karswell cum hundredo et manerium de Depeford cum hundredo, set nescitur per quod seruicium. Et Henricus filius comitis tenet modo illa maneria cum hundredis et Liscaret in Cornubia in capite de domino rege per seruicium unius militis de dono regis Ricardi.

Other examples could be adduced to show that a hundred court was considered to be appendant to the manor in which it was held, but they would not be material to the purposes of this paper. All that it is necessary to show at present is that when the king granted a property which formed a specific

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item in a sheriff's farm an allowance was made in blanched money, but when he granted a property which was not a specific item the allowance was made by tale. Apportionment in the latter case in blanched money would often have been a difficult task.

VI.

At the end of the chancellor's roll for the ninth year of Henry II. there is a strip of parchment headed, 'Recepta in thesauro de firmis totius Anglie ad scaccarium de festo sancti Michaelis. De anno proximo post compotos redditos.' It consists of thirty-four entries, such as—

	£	s.	d.
Combustio de Chent	3	10	0
Combustio de Surreia de veteri firma trium comitatuum	0	0	9
Combustio de Essexa et Hurdford . .	4	5	11

On examination it will be found that a sum of money is written after the name of every county whose sheriff accounted in blanched money, except those whose sheriffs in this particular year paid nothing into the Treasury. Thus there are blank spaces after the words 'Combustio de Middlesexa,' 'Combustio de Londonia,' corresponding to 'In thesauro nichil' in the account for that bailiwick. There is also a blank space after the name of the county of Salop, whose sheriff accounted by tale, but the names of the other counties whose sheriffs accounted by tale are entirely omitted. The slip of parchment also contains the names of a few boroughs for which accounts were rendered in blanched money; and after them are written certain sums of money, just as in the case of the counties.

At the end of the chancellor's roll of 10 Hen. II. there is a similar strip of parchment headed, 'De scaccario sancti Michaelis apud Norhantonam. Combustiones de firmis comitatuum totius Anglie de duobus terminis de Pasca et de

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festo sancti Michaelis.' The entries on the strip are of the same character as those which have just been described. Similar strips are attached either to the pipe roll or to the chancellor's roll for almost every year during the rest of the century. Usually it is attached to the former.

The question is, Do the entries on these strips bear any relation to the entries in the rolls themselves? Do they in any way amplify or explain the sheriffs' accounts? The answer to these questions is given by a passage in the 'Dialogus Scaccarii' (Liber Primus, vi.) which is as follows :—

Licet autem a talea vicecomitis combustio detrahatur, mittitur tamen seorsum in taleam alteram breuiorem, ut de summa eius thesaurius et camerarii respondeant.

There is also another passage in the 'Dialogus Scaccarii' (Liber Secundus, xxvii.).

Soluta hoc termino a vicecomite firma de qua examen factum est in primis a calculatore per numerales aceruos in distancium virgarum spaciis distribuetur; deinde facta detraccione per combuscionem sicut supra dictum est, eadem dealbatur, et appensa sibi taleola combuscionis, *que tamen vicecomiti non computatur*, summa que relinquitur in taleam redigitur. Similiter et quod solutum fuerat in termino Pasche, et dealbatum in eadem talea. Sic et combuscio de eodem termino cum combuscione finalis termini mittitur; vt una sit utriusque solucionis talea, et similiter una combuscionis.

The system was by no means complicated. Twice a year the sheriffs came up to the Exchequer bringing money to be paid into the Treasury. They had to account for this money not as current coin, but as tested silver. One pound was, therefore, tested, and the number of pennies by which it fell short of the standard pound was noted, and every pound which the sheriff had paid into the Treasury was reduced by this number of pence. The sum which remained after this deduction had been made was credited to him in his account. Thus, when it is said on the pipe roll that Hugh de Ralegh renders an account of the farm of Devonshire, and has paid into the Treasury the sum of 18*l.* 8*s.* 1*d.* blanch, we have no

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statement of what he actually brought up to the Treasury, but only of the sum, which was credited to him after a deduction, based on the testing of a single pound, had been made. But the sheriff had actually paid into the Treasury a larger sum than that which was credited to him in his account, and the money which represented the difference was in the custody of the treasurer and chamberlains of the Exchequer. The strip or schedule attached to the chancellor's roll is a statement of the amounts for which the Treasury officials were answerable; it does not concern the sheriff.[1]

Nor was it an unjust or uneconomical system. The sheriff ought to have insisted on being paid good money, and if he did so he was not the loser. Moreover during the period when there were mints in many of the cities and boroughs in the different counties the system made it to his interest that good money should be coined, which was highly beneficial to the country at large. On the other hand the Exchequer never allowed really bad money to be paid into the Treasury, and the sums of money mentioned on the schedules to the chancellor's roll were as good as any other sums of money paid into the Treasury.

It might be thought that, by adding the sums mentioned on the schedule to the chancellor's roll to the sums credited to the sheriff as paid into the Treasury, we should be able to make the necessary calculation for ascertaining the number of pence lost in the combustion of the sample pound. But we cannot make this calculation. In the first place the schedule often says nothing of the combustion for the Easter term. But even where it contains a list of the combustions for both terms we cannot in general make the calculation, because the account in the roll does not state how much of the money allowed to a sheriff for payments into the Treasury was paid in the Easter term and how much in the Michaelmas term, and the number of pence to be deducted from every pound may have been found to be different in the two

[1] The schedule usually contained a further series of entries entitled 'Exitus de thesauro.' These also concerned the treasury officials, and not the sheriffs.

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terms. In the second place the sheriffs, besides paying into the Treasury in every year moneys on account of their farm for that year, also paid moneys which were due in the preceding year; and the schedules of combustions do not always distinguish between such payments.

It is true that to some of the pipe rolls of the reign of John and Henry III. there is occasionally a second schedule attached, which states how much money was paid into the Treasury at the Easter exchequer, and from this schedule the calculation might be made. There is also one case in which no calculation is necessary. The schedule of combustions to the chancellor's roll of 19 Henry II. has endorsed upon it eighteen entries, all similar to this: 'Gloucestria, libra arsi xij denarii.' The schedule shows that the number of pence in the pound which were lost in testing varied from four pence in the case of the county of Northampton to nineteen pence in the cases of Devonshire and Hampshire. The average is a very little over twelve pence. It is, of course, possible that the system of testing a single pound did not obtain in the earliest years of the reign of Henry II. There are no schedules of combustions of the rolls before 9 Hen. II.; but no inference can be drawn from their absence, as there are none to some of the rolls after 9 Hen. II. Sometimes, however, there is an entry 'debet *l. s. d.*,' which is followed by the words, 'Et liberauit in thesauro in argento blanco.' These words only occur in the earliest rolls, and they certainly suggest an actual payment of blanched silver.

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APPENDIX

NOTE.—In the eight following pages I have endeavoured to summarise the results of my calculations (which extend in most cases from 5 Hen. II. to 15 Hen. II.) of the farms of the counties and the more important bailiwicks. Unfortunately some of the accounts, notably London and Middlesex and Essex and Hertford, are usually very long; and I have only been able to consider those of a few years. Then, again, the rolls are often damaged, and certain of the accounts are of no value for the purposes of this paper. In general, where nothing is stated as to the farm of a county before a certain date the reader may assume that I have been unable to find any stability in its amount before that date. But he should not assume that the instability cannot be explained. In some cases a careful study of the account may show the reason of a variation in the amount of the farm; in others a reference to the original may disclose a misprint which will dispose completely of a variation. There is a rule at the Public Record Office that no student may have more than three documents produced for his inspection at the same time. The rule is undoubtedly conceived in the interests of the public, but it renders investigations such as the present slow and difficult. I have not, except in a few cases, consulted those of the original rolls which have already been printed; and it is because I have not done so that I have avoided giving particulars of the farms for 2 Hen. II., 3 Hen. II., and 4 Hen. II., the printed text of the rolls of these years having, in my opinion, the appearance of inaccuracy. All the calculations which are here printed have been made by me, but I cannot be sure that there are not occasional inaccuracies in them. I have, however, verified most of them at considerable intervals after they were originally made. I have also to thank Miss E. Grogan for an independent verification of some of the longer accounts.

Bedford.—See *Buckingham.*

Berks.—If the debet of 74*l.* 14*s.* 8*d.* in the account of 2 Hen. II. be treated as 74*l.* 14*s.* 8*d.* blanch, the farm of the county for that year will be found to be 541*l.* 8*s.* 4*d.* blanch. This was also the amount of the farm in 5 Hen. II., 8 Hen. II., 9 Hen. II., and in the subsequent years of the reign. In 3 Hen. II., 4 Hen. II., 6 Hen. II.,

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and 10 Hen. II. the farm seems to be different, but this may be due to clerical errors either in the roll or in the printed text. In 6 Hen. II. the farm amounts to 542*l.* 8*s.* 2*d.* blanch, which certainly suggests carelessness. In 10 Rich. I. the farm was 541*l.* 8*s.* 4*d.* blanch.

Buckingham.—In 4 Hen. II. the farm of the counties of Buckingham and Bedford, which had a common sheriff, was 269*l.* 19*s.* 11*d.* blanch, and 108*l.* 0*s.* 0*d.* by tale. It will be found to amount to the same sum in 5 Hen. II., 8 Hen. II., 9 Hen. II., 11 Hen. II. and 14 Hen. II. In 10 Hen. II. the blanch farm was 369*l.* 17*s.* 4*d.*; in 12 Hen. II. 359*l.* 19*s.* 11*d.*; and in 13 Hen. II. 350*l.* 0*s.* 0*d.*; the farm by tale in all three years being 108*l.* 0*s.* 0*d.* In 10 Rich. I. the farm was the same as in 4 Hen. II. An increment of 10*l.* 0*s.* 0*d.* by tale, and four hawks was first charged on the county of Buckingham in 14 Hen. II.

Cambridge.—This county and the county of Huntingdon always had a sheriff in common. In 10 Hen. II. he accounted for 373*l.* 7*s.* 3*d.* blanch; in 11 Hen. II. for 373*l.* 9*s.* 3*d.* blanch; in the first half of 12 Hen. II. 186*l.* 14*s.* 8*d.* blanch, and in the second half for 186*l.* 14*s.* 10*d.* blanch; in 13 Hen. II. for 373*l.* 10*s.* 4*d.* blanch; and in 14 Hen. II. and 15 Hen. II. for 373*l.* 9*s.* 4*d.* blanch. The variation in 13 Hen. II. is probably due to some clerical mistake made by the scribe. In 10 Ric. I. the farm was 373*l.* 9*s.* 4*d.* blanch.

Cornwall.—Henry II. shortly after his accession granted the county of Cornwall to his uncle Reginald Dunstanville, commonly called Earl Reginald. The earl held it as a county palatine until he died in 21 Hen. II., rendering no account for it at the Exchequer. In 22 Hen. II. Eustace, the son of Stephen, rendered an account of 153*l.* 12*s.* 6*d.* by tale of the 'de firma comitatus Cornubie, de minaria staminis et de firma burgi Lanzauenton secundum rotulum episcopi Wintoniensis per testimonium Bernardi capellani de parte illa que est in manu regis.' He accounted for the same sum in 23, 24, and 25 Hen. II. In 26 Hen. II. and 27 Hen. II. Alan of Furneaux accounted 'de firma Cornubie et de firma minarie staminis et de firma burgi Lanzauenton de parte illa que est in manu regis et de firma de Penhella et Bedens membris de Landho scilicet 169*l.* 12*s.* 6*d.* numero.' He accounted for the same sum in the following year, but in 28 Hen. II. he rendered an account of 207*l.* 0*s.* 2*d.* 'numero hoc anno cum minaria staminis.' In 29 Hen. II., and also in 30 Hen. II., the amount for which he accounted is not stated, nor is anything said of mines; but by calculation the farm of the county, which

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presumably includes the farm of the mines, is found in each case to be 213*l.* 0*s.* 0*d.* by tale. In 32 Hen. II. the farm is found in the same way to be 233*l.* 4*s.* 1*d.*, and it afterwards remained constant at that sum.

Cumberland.—In 5 Hen. II., and always afterwards, the farm was 114*l.* 0*s.* 4*d.* by tale.

Derby.—See *Nottingham.*

Devon.—The farm became fixed in 5 Hen. II. at 312*l.* 7*s.* 0*d.* blanch. It is true that in this year it fell short of that sum by a penny, but this was an accidental variation.

Dorset.—This county and that of Somerset had a sheriff in common; but he sometimes accounted for them separately. In 5 Hen. II. the farm of Dorset was 120*l.* 0*s.* 0*d.* blanch. The farm of Somerset was in the same year 360*l.* 0*s.* 0*d.* blanch. The farm of the two counties remained unchanged after this year.

Essex.—This county and the county of Hertford had a sheriff in common. In 10 Hen. II. he accounted for 644*l.* 15*s.* 10*d.* blanch; in 11 Hen. II. for 644*l.* 17*s.* 6*d.* blanch; in the two following years for 644*l.* 17*s.* 3*d.* blanch; in 14 Hen. II. and 15 Hen. II. for 644*l.* 17*s.* 4*d.* blanch. In 15 Hen. II. the farm was 645*l.* 2*s.* 4*d.* blanch; in the two following years it was 645*l.* 16*s.* 10*d.* blanch and 645*l.* 1*s.* 5*d.* blanch; but 645*l.* 2*s.* 4*d.* blanch seems to have been the farm during the rest of the reign.

Gloucester.—The farm of this county appears to have become fixed in 9 Hen. II. at 372*l.* 13*s.* 6*d.* blanch.

Hampshire.—The farm of this county in 9 Hen. II. was 606*l.* 2*s.* 7*d.* blanch. In 10 Hen. II. it was 606*l.* 1*s.* 0*d.* blanch; and in 11 Hen. II. 606*l.* 2*s.* 8*d.* blanch. In 12 Hen. II. and 13 Hen. II. the sheriff accounted for 376*l.* 2*s.* 8*d.* blanch. It is probable that in both these years some entry has been omitted from the respective accounts. In 14 Hen. II. the farm was 606*l.* 2*s.* 8*d.* blanch, at which sum it remained constant.

Hereford.—The fragments of the pipe roll of the first year of Hen. II. transcribed in the Red Book of the Exchequer show that the farm of this county was 164*l.* 16*s.* 4*d.* blanch for that year. Although in 2 Hen. II., 6 Hen. II., and 7 Hen. II. different results are obtained, it will be found that in all other years the farm is within a few pennies of this sum. In 11 Hen. II. the entry 'Et Hugoni de Lungocampo 16*l.* 10*s.* 0*d.*' is an error for '16*l.* 10*s.* 0*d.* blancos.'

Hertford.—See *Essex.*

Huntingdon.—See *Cambridge.*

Kent.—This is a county in which the sheriff accounted partly in

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blanch and partly by tale. The farm was fixed as early as 5 Hen. II, the blanch farm being 412*l.* 7*s.* 6*d.*, and the farm by tale being 165*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*

Lancaster.—There was no county of Lancaster in the twelfth century. In 11 Hen. II. Geoffrey de Valoynes rendered an account of 200*l.* 0*s.* 0*d.* as the farm of Lancaster. Various bailiffs accounted for the 'honour of Lancaster' in subsequent years, but always at the farm of 200*l.* 0*s.* 0*d.* No mention of Lancaster appears on the pipe rolls before 11 Hen. II.

Leicester.—This county and the county of Warwick had a sheriff in common, who, however, sometimes accounted for the two counties separately. In 5 Hen. II. the farm of Warwick for the first half of the year was 64*l.* 1*s.* 0*d.* blanch, and the farm of Leicester was 42*l.* 18*s.* 2*d.* blanch. During the next three years the farm appears to have differed a little from double those amounts; but in 10 Hen. II. the farm of Warwick was 128*l.* 1*s.* 10*d.* blanch, and of Leicester 85*l.* 16*s.* 4*d.* In 11 Hen. II. and in subsequent years the sheriff rendered an account of 213*l.* 18*s.* 4*d.* blanch and 40*l.* 0*s.* 0*d.* by tale for the farms of the two counties.

Lincoln.—In 9 Hen. II. the farm of this county was 836*l.* 1*s.* 8*d.* blanch and 140*l.* 0*s.* 0*d.* by tale. It afterwards remained constant at these sums. I have not calculated the farm for the earlier years of Hen. II.

London and Middlesex.—The accounts for London and Middlesex usually consisted of such a large number of entries that it is a great labour to calculate the amount of the farm. In 7 Hen. II. it was 500*l.* 0*s.* 0*d.* blanch only. In 10 Hen. II. it was 499*l.* 10*s.* 5½*d.* blanch and 22*l.* 0*s.* 0*d.* by tale; but it is probable that there is some clerical error in the enrolment of the account, and that the blanch farm was really 500*l.* 0*s.* 0*d.* It was 500*l.* 0*s.* 0*d.* blanch and 22*l.* 0*s.* 0*d.* by tale 11 Hen. II. In the following year it was 499*l.* 19*s.* 0*d.* blanch and 22*l.* 0*s.* 0*d.* by tale. In 13 Hen. II. it was 500*l.* 0*s.* 0*d.* blanch and 22*l.* 0*s.* 0*d.* by tale. It was the same in 20 Hen. II. I have not found time to calculate the farms for the remaining years of the reign. In 1 Rich. I. the farm was 500*l.* 0*s.* 0*d.* blanch, and 22*l.* 0*s.* 0*d.* by tale. In 2 Rich. II. it was 294*l.* 5*s.* 10*d.*, but the account was rendered by three persons 'ut custodes.' In 3 Rich. I. the farm was 300*l.* 0*s.* 0*d.* blanch; but in 52 Hen. III. it was raised to 400*l.* 0*s.* 0*d.* by tale.

Middlesex.—See *London and Middlesex.*

Norfolk and Suffolk.—These counties had a common sheriff. In 7 Hen. II. their sheriff accounted for 749*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* blanch and

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50*l.* 0*s.* 0*d.* by tale. In 8 Hen. II. the farm seems to have been 729*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* blanch and 50*l.* 0*s.* 0*d.* by tale. In 10 Hen. II. and 11 Hen. II. the farm was 749*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* blanch and 100*l.* 0*s.* 0*d.* by tale. In 12 Hen. II., 13 Hen. II., and 14 Hen. II. it was 749*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* blanch only. In 17 Hen. II. it was 750*l.* 2*s.* 0*d.* blanch and 100*l.* 0*s.* 0*d.* by tale; and it was the same in 22 Hen. II. Four years later it was 790*l.* 2*s.* 0*d.* blanch and 100*l.* 0*s.* 0*d.* by tale; and the sum of blanched money for which the sheriff of the two counties accounted at the Exchequer never afterwards changed.

Northampton.—In 9 Hen. II. the farm of this county was 230*l.* 7*s.* 3*d.* blanch. In the following year it was 230*l.* 7*s.* 4*d.* blanch, from which amount it never afterwards varies except by a few pence. In 13 Hen. II. the entry 'et Willelmo de Albini 2*l.* 0*s.* 0*d.* numero' is underlined for deletion on the Chancellor's roll, but not on the Treasurer's roll. If the farm in this year was the same as in other years, the entry should be underlined for deletion in both rolls.

Northumberland.—This is another of the counties in which the sheriff accounted by tale only. No account was rendered for this county until 4 Hen. II., when William de Vescy accounted for 240*l.* 0*s.* 4*d.* by tale. In 5 Hen. II. the sheriff accounted for 234*l.* 10*s.* 4*d.*; in 6 Hen. II. for 222*l.* 0*s.* 4*d.*; in 7 Hen. II. for 267*l.* 17*s.* 9*d.*; in 8 Hen. II. for 240*l.* 0*s.* 4*d.*; in 9 Hen. II. for 240*l.* 0*s.* 4*d.*, these five sums all being reckoned by tale. In 10 Hen. II. he accounted for 240*l.* 18*s.* 4*d.* by tale, at which sum the farm afterwards remained constant.

Nottingham.—The counties of Nottingham and Derby had a sheriff in common, who accounted for them both together. In 2 Hen. II. he accounted for 359*l.* 5*s.* 11*d.* blanch and 40*l.* 0*s.* 0*d.* by tale. In the two following years the amount of the farm seems to have been different, but the difference is probably due to some error in the enrolment. In 5 Hen. II. the farm was as in 2 Hen. II. I have not as yet calculated it for 6 Hen. II., 7 Hen. II., and 8 Hen. II., but in 9 Hen. II. and the five following years it was as in 2 Hen. II. In every other year of the same reign (with one exception, clearly due to a clerical error) which I have calculated I have found the farm to be 359*l.* 5*s.* 11*d.* blanch and 40*l.* 0*s.* 0*d.* by tale. In 1 Rich. I. the account is not fully enrolled, and it is impossible to say for what sum the sheriff accounted. Early in the same year, the king granted the two counties to his brother John, Count of Mortain, who rendered no account for them at the Exchequer. In 6 Rich. I. the king again took possession of the two counties; and their sheriff afterwards rendered an account for them of 279*l.* 5*s.* 11*d.* blanch and

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40*l.* 0*s.* 0*d.* by tale. He also accounted separately for a sum of 80*l.* 0*s.* 0*d.* blanch for the farm of the manor of Wirksworth; so that he accounted in all for the same sum as his predecessors in the reign of Hen. II.

Oxford.—From 9 Hen. II. to 13 Hen. II. the sheriff of this county accounted for 326*l.* 12*s.* 9*d.* blanch as its farm. In 14 Hen. II., however, the farm was 325*l.* 13*s.* 9*d.* blanch only. It is probable that the account for this year is incomplete, as the farm in the following year was 326*l.* 12*s.* 7*d.* blanch. In 10 Ric. I. the farm was 326*l.* 12*s.* 9*d.*

Rutland.—In 2 Hen. II. the sheriff farmed this county for 10*l.* 0*s.* 0*d.* by tale. The farm was never afterwards changed. On the roll of 2 Hen. II. Richard de Humez is stated to owe 10*l.* 0*s.* 0*d.* for the farm of Rutland for the past year, so that it is probable that the farm was 10*l.* 0*s.* 0*d.* by tale in that year, although it is conceivable that it was a larger sum.

Salop.—The sheriff of this county always accounted by tale. In 2 Hen. II. his farm appears to have been 264*l.* 14*s.* 1*d.* In 3 Hen. II. it was 265*l.* 5*s.* 0*d.*; in 4 Hen. II. 265*l.* 6*s.* 1*d.*; in 5 Hen. II. 265*l.* 5*s.* 0½*d.*; and in 6 Hen. II. 265*l.* 4*s.* 11½*d.* The Salop pipe roll of the following year is damaged. In 8 Hen. II. the farm was 265*l.* 0*s.* 7*d.* In 9 Hen. II. and afterwards it was 265*l.* 15*s.* 0*d.* This was also the amount of the farm in 10 Ric. I.

Stafford.—In 4 Hen. II. the farm of this county was 140*l.* 0*s.* 0*d.* blanch. In the following year it was 140*l.* 0*s.* 0*d.* blanch. I have not calculated it for the four years from 6 Hen. II. to 9 Hen. II., but in 10 Hen. II. it was 139*l.* 19*s.* 8*d.* blanch, and in 11 Hen. II. 140*l.* 0*s.* 0*d.* blanch. In all subsequent years, for which I have made calculations, the farm was 140*l.* 0*s.* 0*d.* blanch, or within a few pence of that sum. It was 140*l.* 0*s.* 0*d.* blanch in 10 Rich. I.

Suffolk.—See *Norfolk.*

Sussex.—The farm of Sussex was 40*l.* 0*s.* 0*d.* by tale in 2 Hen. II., and never afterwards varied.

Warwick.—See *Leicester.*

Wilts.—In 5 Hen. II. the farm of this county was 542*l.* 9*s.* 9*d.* blanch. In the two following years it differed considerably from this sum; but in 8 Hen. II. it was 542*l.* 8*s.* 10*d.* In 9 Hen. II. and afterwards it was 542*l.* 9*s.* 10*d.* blanch.

Worcester.—In 2 Hen. II., 3 Hen. II., and 5 Hen. II. the farm of this county was 215*l.* 10*s.* 4*d.* blanch. I have not calculated it for 4 Hen. II., 6 Hen. II., and 7 Hen. II., but in 8 Hen. II it was 215*l.* 10*s.* 4*d.* blanch, and it afterwards did not vary except by a few

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pence from that sum, which was still the farm in 10 Rich. I. Besides accounting for a sum of blanched money, the sheriff of Worcester rendered annually an account of 13*l.* 0*s.* 0*d.* by tale in commutation of one sumpter horse and one hawk.

York.—The farm of this county was in 4 Hen. II. 440*l.* 7*s.* 3*d.* blanch In the following year the account is not completely stated on the pipe roll, and the farm cannot be ascertained. In 6 Hen. II. and 7 Hen. II. the farm was 402*l.* 7*s.* 3*d.* blanch, in 8 Hen. II. 440*l.* 8*s.* 9*d.* blanch, and in 9 Hen. II. and afterwards 440*l.* 7*s.* 3*d.* blanch.

Bosham.—In 2 Hen. II. the sheriff of Sussex rendered an account of 42*l.* 0*s.* 0*d.* for the farm of Bosham. The roll does not state that the sum was of blanched money, but it is almost certain that it was, as he accounted for 42*l.* 0*s.* 0*d.* blanch in the following year. In 4 Hen. II. the sheriff rendered no account for the farm of Bosham, and none appears on the pipe rolls till 11 Hen. II., when the sheriff accounted for 12*l.* 11*s.* 4*d.* by tale for the farm of Bosham for the fourth part of a year. In 12 Hen. III. he accounted for 50*l.* 18*s.* 0*d.* for the same farm, and in 13 Hen. III. for 62*l.* 5*s.* 6*d.* Out of this last sum he was allowed 13*l.* 12*s.* 4*d.* which had been expended in 'restauramento manerii perficiendo.' At the end of the account the following words occur: 'Et amodo debet reddere 43*l.* 1*s.* 0*d.* blancos et 57*l.* 0*s.* 0*d.* numero cum lestagio per Alanum de Neuilla.' After 13 Hen. II. accounts were rendered regularly for the farm of Bosham at these sums.

Colchester.—In the account of 2 Hen. II. the words 'Et debet 9*l.* 5*s.* 9*d.*' are an error for 'Et debet 9*l.* 5*s.* 9*d.* blancos.' This is apparent from an entry in the pipe roll of 4 Hen. II., "Ricardus de Luci reddit compotum de 9*l.* 5*s.* 9*d.* blancos de firma tercii anni de Colecestria;' the words 'firma tercii anni' being the usual description of a farm of two years previously. With this correction the farm of Colchester for 2 Hen. II. will be found to be 40*l.* 0*s.* 2*d.* blanch. In each of the two following years it was 40*l.* 0*s.* 0*d.* blanch; but in 5 Hen. II. and 6 Hen. II. it appears to have been 38*l.* 15*s.* 0*d.* blanch and 39*l.* 14*s.* 5½*d.* blanch respectively. In 7 Hen. II. and in the seven following years the farm was always within two pence of 39*l.* 19*s.* 11½*d.* blanch.

Ferendon.—In 2 Hen. II. the sheriff of Richard of Chainvill rendered an account of 145*l.* 0*s.* 0*d.* blanch and 7*l.* 11*s.* 0*d.* by tale for the farm of Ferendon. In the following year he rendered an account of 145*l.* 0*s.* 0*d.* blanch and 5*l.* 0*s.* 0*d.* by tale for the same farm. Accounts of these sums were rendered annually until

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19 Hen. II. It is possible that the farm of 7*l.* 11*s.* 0*d.* by tale was not the sum actually due in 2 Hen. II., as the account contains an entry 'et de restauramento Henrici de Oxinforda 2*l.* 11*s.* 0*d.* in eodem manerio.' It is possible that this entry is superfluous and was intended to be deleted. If there were no such entry the farm would be 145*l.* 0*s.* 0*d.* blanch and 5*l.* 0*s.* 0*d.* by tale, as in subsequent years.

Mienes.—In 4 Hen. II. the farm of Mienes was 148*l.* 1*s.* 8*d.* blanch. I have calculated the farm for every other year up to 18 Hen. II., and found it to be the same sum, except in 7 Hen. II., when it was 128*l.* 1*s.* 10*d.* In the last year of Ric. I. it was as in 4 Hen. II.

Southampton.—In 2 Hen. II. Roger the son of Folcher rendered an account of 100*l.* 0*s.* 0*d.* by tale for the farm of this town for the first four months of the year; and William Trentegeruns of 200*l.* 0*s.* 0*d.* blanch for the last eight months. The account for 3 Hen. II. is not completely stated on he pipe roll. From 4 Hen. II. to 9 Hen. II. the farm was 300*l.* 0*s.* 0*d.* blanch. In 10 Hen. II. the account is again incomplete, and there is a misprint in it of '15*l.* 10*s.* 0*d.* blancos' for '16*l.* 10*s.* 0*d.* blancos.' But the portion of the account which is missing can be ascertained from the pipe roll of two years later to be 'Et debet 121*l.* 5*s.* 3*d.*' If this entry be supplied the farm will be found to be 300*l.* 0*s.* 0*d.*; as it was also in the two following years. In 13 Hen. II. an account was rendered of 225*l.* 0*s.* 0*d.* blanch (or three-quarters of 300*l.* 0*s.* 0*d.* blanch) for the first nine months of the year; but the actual payments and allowances only amounted to 92*l.* 0*s.* 9*d.* blanch. For the last three months of the year an account was rendered for one-third of this last sum instead of for one-third of 225*l.* 0*s.* 0*d.* blanch. After 13 Hen. II. the farm was only 200*l.* 0*s.* 0*d.* blanch.

Winchester.—In 2 Hen. II. the farm of Winchester was 142*l.* 12*s.* 2*d.* blanch. In the following year it was 142*l.* 12*s.* 5*d.* blanch. From 4 Hen. II. to 7 Hen. II. the farm seems to have fluctuated considerably. In 8 Hen. II. it was 142*l.* 12*s.* 4*d.* blanch, and it did not vary from that amount during the nine following years, except in 10 Hen. II.

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THE FLORENTINE WOOL TRADES IN THE MIDDLE AGES

A BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

COMMUNICATED BY MISS E. DIXON

June 16

THE origin of the present paper may be traced to a request made to me by Dr. Cunningham, when I was passing through Florence in November 1896, to examine a list of the English and Scotch monasteries which furnished raw wool to the mediæval Florentine wool merchants, given in the fourteenth century manuscript of Balducci Pegolotti's 'Pratica della Mercatura,' preserved in the Riccardian Library. This list, as printed by Peruzzi in his 'Storia del Commercio,' was suspected by Dr. Cunningham to contain sundry clerical and other inaccuracies, a suspicion which proved to be amply justified in fact. It was then suggested to me that it might be worth while to try and collect information bearing upon the wool trades of the Florentine Republic as a whole, inasmuch as there must assuredly be no little material in the way of contemporary documents stored away in Florentine archives and libraries.

This surmise has proved correct. There is, in the Archivio di Stato at the Uffizi, a very considerable, though not complete, collection of documents belonging to the Arte della Lana, or Guild of Wool, and to the Arte di Calimara, or Calimala,[1] the Guild of Merchants in Foreign Cloth. These two impor-

[1] Both forms of this word are found. *Calimala* is the old form, and is doubtless derived from Callismala (as it is written at the head of one of the earliest statutes of this guild), a lane of doubtful reputation in the vicinity of which the guild had its houses. *Calimara* is the present name of the street, which is continuous with Por Santa Maria, where were the houses of the Guild of Silk.

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tant Arti Maggiori alone are represented by some six hundred separate documents, or series of documents, ranging from the beginning of the fourteenth century to the close of the eighteenth, when the Arti were abolished—statutes, registers, ledgers, minute-books, and the like. Of these, however, only a comparatively limited number belong to the more important period, that of the Republic, the majority dating from the time of the Medicean despotism and the Grand Dukes, until the final suppression of all the guilds, as having lost their original character, and become mere cumbrous anachronisms. Of these accumulated masses of material comparatively little seems as yet to have been printed.

In addition to the foregoing, to which further reference will be made later, there are manuscripts scattered through the several Florentine libraries which, while not dealing especially with the wool trades, incidentally serve to throw light on the subject.

Owing to the peculiarly close connection between the mediæval Florentine guilds, and the political constitution and government of the Republic, it would, I think, be virtually impossible to write a lucid history of any of these manufacturing and trading corporations from their own documents and archives alone, even if the latter were far more accessible than they are. To form a large and adequate conception of the origin, rise, development, and decay of the guilds, and of the part they played in the Middle Ages, it would be necessary to master not only the internal history of the present Tuscan capital, from the earliest times until, at any rate, the middle of the sixteenth century, but also its political and commercial relations, friendly and hostile, with the other Italian States, and with all the foreign nations among whom the ubiquitous Florentine trader or ambassador was to be found. To do this exhaustively, or even with relative completeness, would entail, as a preliminary, the satisfactory solution of not a few problems in the early history of Florence which are confessedly intricate, and in some cases hitherto insoluble from lack or inaccessibility of conclusive evidence.

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In other words, whosoever might aspire to write a serious history of these two 'Arti,' viz., Lana and Calimala, would probably find it necessary to write incidentally the history of the following from very early times as well :—

(1) The Commune and Republic of Florence as a political institution, both individual and comparative.

(2) Various Florentine churches and other buildings of Mediæval and Early Renascence architecture, some of world-wide renown.

(3) Ditto of hospitals and other 'istituti di beneficenza.'

(4) The foreign policy and foreign relations generally of the Republic.

(5) The commerce of the Mediterranean and its ramifications in East and West, together with the gradual shifting of the commercial centre of gravity in Europe from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic sea-board.

The bibliography of the woollen industry from this latter standpoint must obviously be one of colossal dimensions.

During the last six months[1] I have been endeavouring to break ground more particularly, and indeed almost exclusively, in respect of printed books. The list of titles so compiled, which I have no reason to suppose exhaustive, contains somewhat over three hundred items. Of these, some are the names of authors who wrote more than one work which it might be useful to consult; others represent series containing many individual works, such as those of Muratori, Pertz, and the most valuable and important Archivio Storico Italiano.

It will be seen that the would-be historian of the wool trades of mediæval Florence is likely to share the fate of so many of those who embark lightheartedly upon the unfathomed and unexplored seas of historical research, viz., that the more one learns, the less one seems to know anything at all.

[1] It should be understood, however, that this work has not been continuous, as it was frequently interrupted both by ill-health and by the claims of other work.

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It is, however, only right to say that I started on this inquiry with scarcely any deeper or wider acquaintance with the history of Florence than is usually acquired by any intelligent tourist with a leaning towards history, who has spent some time in Tuscany at intervals extending over ten years. To those who are specialists, the task would doubtless appear less formidable, though not, perhaps, to any very appreciable extent. Hence I am but too fully aware that the work of compiling a bibliography might have fallen into better equipped hands: but inasmuch as I am unable to learn that any such bibliography, not to mention a history, is being compiled by any one at all, even in connection with the work of a German *Seminar*, the present notes may possibly serve, *faute de mieux*, as a rough guide which may not be wholly valueless.

Assuming, then, that the hypothetical historian proposes to write a monograph worthy to rank among standard books of reference in economic history, and mindful of the Horatian maxim, *dimidium facti qui coepit habet*, where, in a *terra incognita*, strewn haphazard with at least a thousand documents and printed books of all kinds, Latin, Italian, German, English, and French, is a beginning to be made? Is there any one book, mediæval or modern, which furnishes a reliable outline of the subject—any one amid all this miscellaneous and bewildering chaos? Original documents, with their exasperating *lacunae* at critical periods, their matter-of-fact allusions to some trivial detail of political events of the first importance, now shrouded in wellnigh hopeless obscurity; chronicles compiled by old annalists, some of whom were of lively imagination but doubtful veracity, while others wrote, indeed, of events of which they were eye-witnesses, but eye-witnesses who obviously looked through fiercely partisan spectacles; histories of a more modern type, initiated by Machiavelli, as useless for any accurate verification of facts as they are valuable for their insight into the underlying significance of facts, the sequence of political and social cause and effect; histories of a yet more modern type still, based upon exami-

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nation of such documentary evidence as was then accessible, such as the works of the two Ammirati in the sixteenth century, and of such giants of erudition of a later date as Muratori; countless and often extremely valuable historical papers to be found in the Transactions of 'Società di Storia Patria' at local historical centres like Rome and Siena; the seldom ransacked archives of places like Pistoja[1] and Poggibonsi, now towns of little importance, but formerly independent States in league with or at enmity to Florence: histories of art and architecture, local histories of castles and monasteries, Florentine churches, streets, and palaces; and lastly, all the critical histories of Italy and of its individual cities that have been written during the last fifty years,—which among all these will furnish the outline required?

A very fair idea of the constitution of the Arti Maggiori generally, including, of course, the two under consideration, may be gathered from a little pamphlet entitled 'Le Arti e gli Artigiani nella Repubblica di Firenze,' published by Professor Dino Carina in 1868. It is the reprint of a lecture delivered before a Technical Institute, and is of a merely popular character, but it serves the above purpose, and as a brief introduction to the masterly critical account of the Arti included in the first volume of Professor Villari's erudite 'Primi due Secoli della Storia di Firenze.' To follow up to their original sources all the references given by Professor Villari in the footnotes to his chapters dealing with the Arti would alone suffice to keep one at work for several months.

It will be remembered that, while the origin of Florence, whether as an insignificant Roman settlement dating from about the time of Sulla, or as a mediæval commune, is unusually obscure, the latter was one of the very last among the great city-States of mediæval Italy to rise into prominence; and that the key to its history, from the most

[1] A lady recently went from Florence to istoja to make some researches in the Archives there, and found that it was so long since any stranger had been to Pistoja for this purpose, that the Archives had been locked up, and the Archivista had gone to Africa.

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remote period, all through the turbulent twelfth, thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries, down to the time when the Medici began that long-continued process of 'ironing the Florentines out flat,' is essentially a commercial and economic one. According to a tenacious local tradition, Florence originally consisted of but a few huts to serve as a shelter and resting-place to the Etruscan traders who brought down from the hill-town of Fiesole the wares destined for markets further south, and who crossed the Arno at the spot where from time immemorial there has been a Ponte Vecchio. It is sometimes stated that the commercial prosperity of mediæval Florence was immediately due to its geographical position in the most direct line between Rome and the great plain of Lombardy through the passes of the Apennines. With due deference to those who maintain this view, I would suggest that it hardly bears analysis. It is true that Florence lies in the most direct line between Bologna and Arezzo, Siena, and Rome; but the value of a high road for trading purposes may be measured by the degree of public security which can be guaranteed to the caravans travelling by it. If a mediæval highway was open to traders, it was also opened to brigands, and robber-barons of the Empire, and rival cities thirsting to extend their hegemony by unlawful means. On the other hand, the commercial disadvantages of the Florentine geographical and strategical position were enormous. It was situated on a broad but not a tidal river, unnavigable except for quite small craft, owing both to its rapid current and the unreliability of the volume of water in its channel at any given time,[1] and to its liability to form shoals from the tons of sand—*multa flavus arena*—which it brings down from the Casentino in the course of a year. Even had the Arno been navigable to the coast, its mouth was already occupied by Pisa, a bitter rival of Florence, not only as a trading centre, but also because Pisa was Ghibelline and Florence Guelf. And a Guelf city lying in a narrow valley,

[1] A few weeks ago, after continued heavy rains, I saw the Arno rise about fifteen feet in twenty-four hours, and then sink again as rapidly (May, 1898).

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hemmed in by mountains and hills bristling with the strongholds of Ghibelline nobles, was not at first sight a city in which commerce might be expected to flourish, least of all in a commodity like wool, of which it was absolutely impossible to procure the raw material in the immediate or even the distant neighbourhood. Hence it would seem that if Florence rose to be one of the greatest commercial cities of the Middle Ages—greatest not only in relation to her small size, but in relation to any mediæval trading centre, large or small—she did so not so much on account of, as in spite of, her geographical position, and that the ultimate causes of her prosperity must be sought in other directions. What these causes really were I cannot venture to determine, though it may be noted in passing that by the time the early Florentines emerge from obscurity, they have been cradled in opposition and nourished upon opposition, and seem to have grown—lustily—by what they fed on.

It would be but reasonable to assume that, in the valleys of the Apennines, where an almost tropical summer heat is not inconsistent with the icy blasts of the *tramontano* in winter and early spring, the art of working in wool, in however rude a form, must have been practised to some extent from a remote antiquity; and such an assumption might be held, in a country where one is reminded of classical usage at almost every turn in the instinctive customs and habits of the people, to derive confirmation from the fact that the use of woollen underclothing is universal, even among the classes least likely to have been influenced by modern hygienic theories, such as the peasants and the barefooted scavengers of the streets. In face, however, of the frequent allusions to the use of wool made by classical authors of both the Republican and the Imperial eras—Virgil's 'lanam fucare veneno Assyrio,' Livy's 'Lucretia lanae dedita,' and other instances which will occur to every one—any such confirmation is needless.

Why the working of wool, thus practised to meet needs doubtless mainly local, should have been capable of a

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development in Florence so marvellous in respect of both quantity and quality, is far from self-evident. (That its rapid development dates from the settlement at Florence, in the first half of the thirteeenth century, of a branch of the monastic order of the Umiliati is clearly established.) But branches of the Frati Umiliati were established in other centres about the same time, and, although they stimulated the local woollen industry wherever they went, in Florence only did the industry speedily attain dimensions of so colossal a magnitude.

(The Umiliati derived their origin from certain Lombards who were banished to North Germany by the Emperor Henry II. in 1014. There they learned the very ancient local art of weaving wool. In the course of time they formed themselves into a lay community or fraternity of a devout character, determining thenceforth to live by the labour of their hands. After a few years these exiles returned to Italy, 'associati ed industriosi.' Preserving their lay character until 1140, the Umiliati now formed themselves into a religious Order, which, later, received the sanction of Pope Innocent III. By this time the priests of the order no longer took part in the manual labour which was carried on by the lay-brothers, but directed and managed the industry as a whole. The lay-brothers were placed under the supervision of an official called the Mercatore, and the quality of their work steadily improved. Branches of the Order were scattered over various regions of Italy, always doing the same work, and their reputation rose so high that at length they were in great demand as *camarlinghi* (chamberlains or chancellors) in the communes of Italy, and as army providers in time of war. Hence the Florentine Republic, always on the alert when fresh opportunities arose for satisfying its trading instincts, invited the Umiliati to settle in the neighbourhood, and establish there a great training-school of industry.)

(The Frati first came into the Florentine *contado* in 1239.) As has been stated above, they found a local industry already

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in existence, and not merely in existence, but definitely organised for some time past. A document recording some arrangement made in 1193 between the Commune of Florence and the Signori del Castello di Trebbio makes mention of 'seven Rectors of the Arti,' obviously the Arti Maggiori, which included both Lana and Calimala, and of which these two, together with the Arte del Cambio, or Guild of Bankers, were the most important of all. In another document, dated four years later (1197), concerning a league or federation of Tuscan towns, one of the signatures appended is that of 'Oliverius Lanajuolus,' of the Guild of Wool.

From these two documents the following inferences may legitimately be drawn:

(i.) That the Arti, as such, must have attained already to a position in which their importance as an element in civic life was publicly recognised.

(ii.) That the men who presided over the Arti were persons of sufficient dignity of character and intellectual acumen to warrant the entrusting to their hands of negotiations fraught with political or diplomatic importance to the Republic.

According to Professor Villari, the Florentine Arti were derived from the ancient *Scholae*. The *Scholae* persisted through the time of the Lower Empire well into the Middle Ages; they did for Italian society of the period, especially in those cities where the ancient traditions, Latin or Byzantine, survived with most tenacity, as in Rome, Florence, and Ravenna, what was done in a very different way for Teutonic society by the feudal system north of the Alps—a fact which helps to explain why the feudal organisation that the Empire attempted to impose upon its Italian subjects never could be made really to take root in Latin soil, and illustrates, if illustration be needed, the apparent hopeless impossibility of healing the old feud between Guelf and Ghibelline which has, in one form or another, distracted the

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Peninsula from the day on which Charlemagne was crowned Emperor, in the year 800, at Rome, down to the present moment.[1] It is true that the derivation of the Arti from the *Scholae* of the Dark Ages has not been, possibly cannot be, proved from documentary evidence, but in the absence of such an hypothesis it is difficult to account for the very existence of commerce and industry in an age when the isolated workman of modern individualism was an impossible phenomenon. Many public offices were practically monopolies of special great families, and the same principle was observed in the lower ranks of life, crafts being exercised by groups of families, and often transmitted regularly from father to son. It may be of interest to recall, in passing, that the Parisian guilds at the beginning of the thirteenth century present many features in respect of practical detail and internal organisation far from dissimilar to those which obtained in the Florentine Arti about the same time, while differing totally in theory; the latter being a 'università' or independent corporation, and the former a fief, granted to the Parisian craftsmen by the king, or by one of the greater nobles who was himself a vassal.[2]

It is a matter of common knowledge that, in the evolution of any organic society, laws are not made, but grow. In the case of Florence, the internal organisation of what might be termed a form of republican clanship was already in a re-

[1] Without entering, or wishing to enter, upon the thorny question of modern Italian politics, I may perhaps be allowed to suggest that, on purely historical grounds, the present form of parliamentary government in Italy is unfortunate because it is inconsistent with the 'indole' of the Italian people. The House of Savoy is doing its best to govern Italy upon the constitutional lines of which the British Parliament furnished the model: *i.e.*, it is endeavouring to engraft a purely Teuton institution upon a people mainly Latin. That the antipathy of the modern Guelfs to this new form of Ghibellinism is profound and bitter, is but too evident; it will suffice to refer to the unceasing aspiration of the Papacy to recover the temporal power, and to the famous Encyclical '*Non expedit*;' but Italian voters hardly need a *Non expedit* to make them indifferent to the vote they possess.

[2] See *Le Livre des Métiers*, drawn up at the command of Étienne Boileau, Provost of Paris, in the thirteenth century, during the reign of King Louis IX. (St. Louis); cf. 'Craftswomen in the *Livre des Métiers*,' in the *Economic Journal* (early in 1895).

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latively high state of efficiency, among both *Grandi* and craftsmen, before the commune itself came into conscious existence. On the death of the great Countess Matilda, in 1115, the citizens of Florence, to whom she had entrusted a considerable measure of real, though not nominal, autonomy (partly from enlightened policy, partly from sheer necessity, her attention being increasingly engrossed by the internecine struggles which rent her dominions), continued to carry on civic affairs on their own account, much as they had done while acknowledging a *de jure* allegiance to her as their overlord during her lifetime; and it was only when, in the fierce strife between the Papal and Imperial rivals for the possession of Tuscany, the Emperor injudiciously attempted to carry matters with a high hand over men who had tasted the sweets of comparative freedom, and had proved their growing fitness for the trust, that they became fully conscious of a burning desire to achieve their political independence of both parties alike. Nevertheless, although the extinction of the House of Hohenstaufen shortly made this ambition easier of realisation, it is not possible to assign any definite date as the birth-year of Florentine independence.

To return.—When the Frati Umiliati first came to Florence in 1239, they found a government which had been more or less securely established ever since the destruction of the Ghibelline stronghold of Monte Cascioli in 1119, and of the rival city of Fiesole in 1125. The rule of Consuls is mentioned in documents in reference to the year 1138. As there were Consuls of the community as a whole, so each industrial community had its Consuls likewise, *imperium in imperio.* Giovanni Villani speaks of the Guild of Calimala, or rather its Consuls, being entrusted by the Commune, about 1150, with the care of keeping the fine old Baptistery[1] in repair; and in 1182 the Consuls of the same guild were appointed to receive the tribute which the city of Empoli was to pay, 'supposing there should not be any Consuls of the Commune just then.' And if the Guild of Foreign Cloth

[1] Dante's '*mio bel San Giovanni.*'

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already occupied so important a position in Florence, it may be inferred that the trade with, *e.g.*, Flanders must by this time have been considerable. But it was only after the Umiliati had revealed what latent possibilities lay in the woollen trades awaiting development, that this branch of Florentine commerce began to advance by leaps and bounds.

The first home of the Umiliati near Florence was at San Donato a Torri, but scarcely ten years passed before the Florentine merchants implored them to come nearer in to the city. In 1250, therefore, they moved to some houses and land at Santa Lucia sul Prato, a couple of miles or so beyond the west gate. In accordance with its usual custom, the Commune exempted their property from taxation, a privilege granted to all who introduced a new industry. Six years later they moved once more to the convent and church of Santa Caterina in the Borgognissanti of Florence itself, and here the industry was finally established. The contract or deed of sale is cited from an old document by Cantini, and runs as follows:—

> 'Messer Jacopo di Mainetto, formerly Tornaquinci, and his sons Follierino and Lottieri, sold in 1250, for 497 florins, a piece of land with two houses, adjoining Florence, between S. Paolo and Sta. Lucia, to Fra Ruffino of the Order of the Umiliati, Prior of S. Donato a Torri.'

On this land was built the settlement in the Borgognissanti. From this time the growth of the Florentine wool trade was rapid indeed, and before long Florentine cloths were distancing all others in the marts of Europe.

It may here be noted that the sign or arms of the Umiliati consisted of a bale of wool bound crosswise with cords; those of the Arte della Lana of the Lamb and Flag; and those of the Arte di Calimala of an Eagle above a bale of wool. The Lamb and Flag may frequently be seen on old houses; the Eagle I have seen four times, all four instances

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being in the narrow lane called Calimaruzzo, leading from the Mercato Nuovo into the Piazza Signoria.[1]

It will have been borne in mind that while both the Arte della Lana and the Arte di Calimala were occupied in the woollen cloth trade, the two guilds were absolutely distinct, not only in their organisation and government, but in their purpose and aim. The Arte della Lana manufactured cloth in Florence from the raw wool, native and imported; the Arte di Calimala imported foreign cloth ready-made, and, after skilfully 'doctoring' it—the word is used in no invidious sense—returned it on the market as an altogether superior article. Calimala preceded Lana in development, logically as well as in point of time. Fine cloths were imported from the Byzantine Empire, in which civilisation still survived at a time when the West was submerged beneath the flood of barbarian invasion, and while the native processes of wool manufacture were as yet in a rude and primitive state, as the names of the fabrics testify—*velum holosericum*, *fundathum alithinum*, *vela Tyria*, *vela Byzantina*, *crysoclava*, &c.[2]

For, though wool-working had from of old been familiar to Italians as to other pastoral peoples, there had always been difficulties of a practical nature in the way of its high development, and these were enhanced rather than minimised by the organic evolution of the city-State, the πόλις in the ancient sense of the word, as the political and social expression of mediæval Italian energy. Native wool was of inferior quality; to improve the quality of the wool it was necessary to improve the breed of sheep, and that would have entailed almost a revolution in agricultural methods, especially in regard to pasturage. But the mediæval citizen, compelled by the very terms of his citizenship to dwell within the city gates, regarded agriculture with contempt, as beneath the notice of any but country boors.

[1] Since writing the above, I have seen the Calimala eagle also on the side of an old building adjoining the Franciscan convent at San Miniato. It is stated that this guild held at one time the patronage of a Benedictine abbey on the hill.

[2] For a fuller account of these two guilds, see Villari, *op. cit.* vol. i., from which the above account is mainly taken.

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Further, Tuscany is, from its physical conformation, somewhat ill adapted for grazing; the relatively small extent of accessible land, as compared with the population it has to support, makes it necessary to keep under incessant cultivation every available inch—a process which would be ruinous in any country of a lower natural fertility. I cannot remember ever having seen a grazing, or even a live, sheep in this part of Italy. Further south there are the great grazing pastures of the Roman Campagna, Apulia, and the neighbourhood of Tarentum; but when one may watch the *coloni* of so civilised a region as the Florentine *contado*, any day in early spring, turning up the soil with a little hand-plough that is exactly suggestive of the naïvely quaint instructions for making a plough given in Virgil's *Georgics*, it is useless to look for anything savouring of scientific breeding in the semi-barbarous regions of the south.

Hence, in mediæval Florence, we are confronted by two facts:—

(1) All the statesmanship, policy, laws, and ordinances bearing upon industrial life are full of sound judgment, foresight, and good sense.

(2) All those bearing upon agriculture and rural life seem dictated by prejudice and jealousy.

It will be recalled that when St. Francis of Assisi, as a young man, finally embraced the religious life, he had a violent quarrel with his father, who had locked him up, and otherwise tried to turn him from his purpose by main force; that St. Francis refused in consequence to be beholden any longer to his father for anything, even for the clothes he was wearing; and that he returned the latter, and dressed himself in the first garment that came to hand, which happened to be the heavy gown or long tunic of coarse serge which was then the usual dress of the peasant working in the fields, girt in for greater convenience with a piece of common rope or string—a dress still perfectly familiar as that of members of the Franciscan Order to the present day. Such rough

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and essentially 'scrubby' cloth as this was of the kind manufactured at Florence and elsewhere before the Umiliati established what might be called their technical school, and it was known as *panni pignolati*, *schiavini*, or *villaneschi*: clothing fit only for the lowest grades of the population.[1]

Now when the enterprising cloth merchant considered the possibility of producing an article of superior quality, he found himself between the horns of a dilemma. To weave fine cloth from coarse native wool was impossible; to import fine raw wool from Spain, Flanders, or England was, in the then state of trade, equally impossible, for any increased profits would be completely swallowed up in the cost of transit.

It was in setting themselves to overcome or circumvent these difficulties that the Florentines began to manifest their industrial genius.

The wool of Flanders, Holland, and Brabant was superior to that of Italy in quality, and in these northern regions the art of weaving wool was so ancient that, like flax-weaving in Northern Germany, its origin was lost in pre-historic times. This cloth was, however, but coarsely worked, notwithstanding the goodness of the raw material, and came on the market unsheared, unrefined, and dyed in fading colours in the worst possible taste. It was here that the Florentine merchant saw his opportunity. He invested his money in a stock of these coarsely worked Flemish and Dutch cloths, and brought them to Florence to refine and re-dye. Before very long the merchants of Calimala were doing a brisk trade in cloth of excellent quality. *Torselli*, or great bales of rough foreign cloth, *oltramontani* or *franceschi*, poured into Florence from North-Western Europe, and were carded, sheared, cut, and dyed. By the preliminary operations the exterior roughness or outside layer was skilfully removed, and the result was a woollen cloth much finer than any of native Italian manufacture

[1] One of the Franciscan *Suore* of San Miniato told me, a few days ago, that all the coarse brown serge worn by the Franciscan Order in Italy, whether Frati or Suore, is made at La Verna, in the Casentino, the spot where St. Francis is believed to have received the *stigmata*.

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capable of taking a most delicate dye. And in this latter branch also the Florentines speedily out-distanced all rivals. The cloth was now stretched,[1] calendered, and rolled, and returned upon the market with a greatly enhanced value. At once it was in high demand in Italy; next it was exported to the East, and there exchanged for dyes, chemicals, and other products of Asia; and at length it reappeared in the very markets of North-Western Europe from which it had originally come. (According to some valuable statistics given by Giovanni Villani for the year 1338, the Guild of Calimala in that year had no less than twenty *fondachi* or warehouses in the city, importing over 10,000 *panni*,[2] to the value of 300,000 florins, all to be resold in Florence.) These figures are given, it will be noted, for the ninety-ninth year after the Frati Umiliati first established a humble settlement at S. Donato a Torri; it was but seventy-two years since the long-established customs and traditions of the guild were formally drawn up in legal form, and committed to writing, *νόμιμα* transformed into *νόμοι*. For in 1266, the chronic friction between Grandi and Popolani having reached one of its many acute stages, it was decided to call in from Bologna two knights of the new Order of Frati Gaudenti, to act as peace-makers from an unprejudiced and impartial standpoint. These, however, proved to be persons much more addicted to self-indulgence of a frivolous or doubtful character than capable of serious work, and so they contented themselves with the perception that it would be as well to secure a good understanding with the Arti. (To this end they convoked a council of thirty-six of the cloth merchants, including both Guelfs and Ghibellines, who held daily sittings in the court of the Arte di Calimala. The result of their deliberations was that it was high time for the political and industrial constitution of the seven Arti

[1] One place where the cloth was stretched was near the Porta San Frediano, adjoining the river. The name only survives in the Via Tiratoj.

[2] I am unable to say how much a *panno* denotes, whether a *length* of cloth, or enough for the average suit of clothes, and so I therefore leave the word in the original. *Panni* is still a word in very common use, but it now means 'clothes' generally, of whatever kind, exclusive of bed-clothes, &c.

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Maggiori to be clearly defined, the members of each guild organised and disciplined, after a given pattern, under their respective captains and banners: each guild to be represented by a supreme officer, its Gonfaloniere. This decision on the part of the thirty-six Mercatanti caused an immediate insurrection among the Ghibellines, but after a savage conflict the latter were forced to evacuate Florence, and the Guelfs, or, in other words, the trading and commercial part of the citizens, remained masters of the field. The organisation of the Arti proposed by the Court of Calimala was accepted by the whole body of the citizens, and thenceforward became the principal basis of the political government of the Florentine Republic.

The work of formulating the statutes of the Arti, and reducing them to writing, seems, however—according to our notions—to have progressed, if surely, at any rate, somewhat slowly. At the same time it should be observed that the oldest extant statute of any guild preserved in the Florentine Archivio di Stato is not of necessity the first that came into existence. In many cases, further, the oldest extant document of a given guild is not a statute, but a register of members. The oldest extant document of all seems to be the register of 'matricole' of the Guild of Judges and Notaries, which bears the date of 1280.

The oldest known statute of the Arte di Calimala has been edited by Dr. Giovanni Filippi, and was published, or reprinted, at Turin, about ten years ago. Another of a few years later has been printed by Del Giudice in an appendix to his *Storia dei Municipi Italiani*. Professor Villari has given a somewhat detailed analysis of the internal organisation and modes of procedure within the guild at this early period, in his *Primi due Secoli*, vol. i., c. iv. It is too long to quote, and indeed the only item that more especially concerns us here is that relating to the *bollo*, or mark placed upon its merchandise by the guild. Like the thirteenth century craft-guilds of Paris, the Florentine Arti used the most rigorous measures to maintain the high quality of the work they produced. No one might exercise the craft who was not a matriculated member of the Arte;

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bad work and disobedience to regulations were severely punished, and so was concealment of any defect in a length of cloth. The worst crime of all was short measure.[1] No bale of cloth could be put on the market until it had been most minutely scrutinised in every detail by the high officials appointed for the purpose, and the *bollo* duly affixed, upon which all particulars, down to the smallest stain or blemish which would escape detection until the bale came to be fully unrolled, were inscribed with a scrupulous fidelity that makes one sigh to think of the modern commercial world with its degenerate code of fair, or unfair, dealing. Whether the high standard of the thirteenth and fourteenth century Florentine was due to a stern rectitude innate in the contemporaries of Dante, when Heaven, Purgatory, and Hell were tremendous realities, or whether it was inspired by the lower motive, confirmed by practical experience, that honesty was the best policy, I will not venture to determine.[2] Whatever the ultimate reason, adulteration and fraud of every description were heavily punished, when detected, by the authorities of the guild itself, in most cases by a fine in money, and in the last resort by expulsion; and this last, to the mediæval craftsman, of course spelt absolute ruin.

Thus the merchants of Calimala surmounted the obstacle that confronted them in the lack of fine native wool; and as they advanced in wealth and fame, they drew the Arte della Lana to follow in their steps.

As the Guild of Calimala was strictly forbidden to fabricate cloth from raw wool, so the Guild of Wool was strictly forbidden to treat fabrics already made. The wealth brought into Florence by the Arte di Calimala naturally benefited the

[1] Standard cloth measures may still be seen at Assisi: pieces of iron let into the wall of an old tower in the Piazza, adjoining the church of La Madonna della Minerva.

[2] From various anecdotes quoted in Dr. Biagi's *Private Life of the Renaissance Florentines* (London: Fisher Unwin, reprinted from *Blackwood*), it may be inferred that individuals did their best to wriggle through the regulations whenever they had the chance. The average Florentine is still a shrewd bargainer, whose self-respect consists in 'besting' other people without being caught napping himself.

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community as a whole, not only through the increased circulation of money, but through the stimulus it gave to commercial enterprise in other guilds. It became more possible for the Arte della Lana to regard the importation of fine raw wool from abroad—from Spain, England, and Flanders—as within the range of practical politics. If the advent of the Umiliati in 1239 is the central fact of the thirteenth century in the history of Florentine commerce, the central fact of the fourteenth is the importation of foreign wool by the Arte della Lana. Pegolotti's list of English and Scotch monasteries, of many different religious orders, 'che fornivano di lana i Mercanti Fiorentini,' is of the year 1315. Villani's statistics for 1338 in regard to this guild indicate a most flourishing state of things. The Arte della Lana has, he says, 200 or more shops, producing from 70,000 to 80,000 *panni*, of the value of 1,200,000 florins, and giving employment to 30,000 workmen. This, it will be noted, was after the introduction of English wool, when the quality of the work reached its height. Thirty years before, in 1308, the output had been even larger, but the quality not so good—300 shops producing 100,000 *panni*, worth about 600,000 florins, or only half the above sum. The Guild workshops were probably similar to those in England during the 'domestic' industrial period. Most native Florentine industries are domestic industries to this day, and are likely to continue so, owing to the entire absence of native coal,[1] and the inapplicability of the Arno, save intermittently, for water-power.

The Arte della Lana had, like its sister of Calimala, its own corporation of dyers. These had to make an initial deposit of 300 florins, from which the inspectors of the guild, persons of Rhadamanthine strictness, subtracted fines for every spot, stain, or suspicion of bad dyeing they could discover; the

[1] The inhabitants of the rather noisy workshop of a 'fabbro ferraio,' or worker in iron, at the rear of the house in which I live, have just finished two beautiful gates of wrought iron, and placed them out on the pavement for every one to see. The iron is heated for working, bit by bit, in small charcoal braziers fanned with hand-bellows. Doubtless even Ghiberti, when modelling the Baptistery gates, was somewhat of a nuisance to his neighbours.

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slightest blemish or defect, whether in colouring, quality, or measure, being visited with condign punishment. The minute rules and regulations under which all the mediæval Florentine Arti were governed, were expressly designed to interfere with the liberty of the subject to cheat; and the moral training in rectitude imparted in the workshop bore fruit as civic virtue of a high character, when the craftsman passed temporarily into the Palazzo Vecchio, there to take up his two months' term of office in governing the Republic, as Prior of the guild to which he belonged.

As the Florentine wool industry grew and developed, the *lanifici* of necessity overflowed from the city proper on to the left bank of the Arno. In 1200 the district Oltrarno had consisted of but a few houses grouped in three 'borghi'—the Borgo Santa Felicità, south and east from the foot of the Ponte Vecchio; the Borgo San Jacopo, west; and the 'Dirty Borgo,' where the stately Via dei Bardi afterwards stood and stands. The Velluti family[1] were the first to start wool workshops in Oltrarno, thus giving impetus to the growth of the present Via Maggio, then a fine open country road called the Via Maggiore. Several other merchants followed the example, opening *fondachi*, and then building their palaces close by. By 1343 Oltrarno comprised a third of Florence, divided, like the older part of the city, into (two) 'sestieri' or wards. In 1452 the great annual cloth fair, held on St. Martin's day, was transferred across the river from the Piazza Signoria to the Piazza San Spirito, because the latter was now nearer to the centre of the industry.

The history of many beautiful Florentine buildings is closely bound up with the history of the Arte della Lana. This is a subject far too wide to enter upon here; it may, however, just be mentioned in passing, that the headquarters of the guild, the fine old Palazzo dell' Arte della Lana, has hitherto

[1] These, as the Dukes of San Clemente, are still in existence. There is also still a Via Velluti, a narrow little mediæval lane, turning to the right off the Via Maggio.

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escaped the ravages of the restorer-destroyer, and is still to be seen, with its emblem the Lamb and Flag, behind Or San Michele, and facing the narrow Via Calimara.[1]

The two Arti, Calimala and Lana, continued to advance and improve throughout the fourteenth century and for a fairly large part of the fifteenth, maintaining their supremacy in the marts of Europe, and known from London to Pekin. But though they could, and did, surmount obstacles with an energy and a perseverance worthy of all praise, two obstacles remained, to no inconsiderable extent, in their path to the last. They never could grow in Italy more than a fraction of the raw wool they needed, and they never could find enough workmen among the matriculated members of their guilds to do as much work as they could have found a market for. From the point of view of the mediæval city-State, the idea of giving out work to be done in the villages of the *contado* and brought back finished was, of course, one which was politically, socially, and economically impossible. And in Florence, in particular, manufacturing industry being the dominant instrument and channel of power in the Republic, the Republic naturally wished to keep such an instrument in its own hands.

To obviate these inconveniences in so far as it might be possible, the Florentines came to the following decisions:—

(1) To retain under their own immediate management in Florence all the finest and most profitable part of the work.

(2) To open foreign workshops where the commoner and coarser kinds of cloth might be manufactured throughout, and where the preliminary processes of the finer fabric might be completed before the cloth was brought to Florence to receive the finishing touches (using this phrase in a broad sense). These factories or

[1] I came unexpectedly one day upon an old painting, of no great merit, but of considerable historical interest, representing a shop of the Arte della Lana at work. It is in the suppressed monastery of San Salvi, in the same room (the Refectory) as Andrea del Sarto's 'Cenacolo.'

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workshops were established in the places whence they had been accustomed to import their best wool—in Holland, Brabant, France, and England. The direction, and the most complex part generally, were invariably in the hands of Florentine craftsmen, but for the lower, rougher, and more mechanical processes native labour was employed.

This was the beginning of the end. The Florentine craftsman was not quite proof against the temptation of posing as a superior person over the heads of the northern boors whom he was unawares instructing daily in the processes of his jealously guarded industry. Taunts and example together soon told. The Flemings, if boors, were of old industrious and thrifty souls; the English and French soon showed little less aptitude; and the Florentines had the mortification of seeing native cloth factories springing up all round them as rivals. The native rivals did not stop there. Finding that they could make good cloth at home, they next took steps to prevent their raw wool from leaving the country to supply the Arte della Lana, their undyed, unsheared cloth from filling the workshops of the Arte di Calimala.

Thus the Florentine guilds lost at the same time both a considerable portion of their raw material and their markets in North-Western Europe.[1]

I append a list of the books which I have reason to think might throw light, direct or reflected, upon the history of the Florentine wool trades, assuming that a monograph of a

[1] I have been unable to do more than give the foregoing sketch of the earlier history of the trades. The Arti were not abolished till 1770. According to Cantini, the decline in the wool industries was due to the Medician policy of suppressing inconvenient energy; but the guilds were then already declining from economic causes. The trade flourished for some time in the East after the loss of the Western markets, and received its death-blow there in the establishment by the Medici of the Military Order of St. Stephen, which provoked immediate reprisals against all Tuscans from Constantinople. A good chronological table of Florentine history from the economic side is a desideratum.

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serious and exhaustive kind were in contemplation. It follows neither an alphabetical nor a chronological order; it is merely a list with a very rough and imperfect attempt at some general kind of classification according to subject.

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MISCELLANEOUS.

Stray hints and anecdotes may be gathered from almost any Biographies, Letters, &c. of Florentines from the twelfth or thirteenth century onward; also in modern guides and handbooks to Florence, though these last are of course to be used with caution.

Giotto was apprenticed to the Arte della Lana, and played truant to Cimabue's painting workshop; Benvenuto Cellini's father and friends, who belonged to the Guilds of Wool, Silk, &c., 'did not think it beneath them' to take the post of Court musician. Such notices might be gathered almost *ad infin.* from writers like the following: Dante, Boccaccio, Petrarch, Vasari, &c., &c.

Miscellaneous information bearing (in some way) upon mediæval Florentine commerce may also be found in the following:—

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I do not know whether any one will be encouraged, by the foregoing outline of the ground to be covered, to enter upon the labour of writing the history of the Florentine wool-trades.

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If I might venture upon an opinion, I should be inclined to say that the time for writing such a history has not yet come, and will hardly come for another fifty years. The mere labour of deciphering and preparing for publication one quarter of the documents belonging to the archives of the guilds alone would be enormous. But a beginning might certainly be made in the direction of collecting, for publication in an English form, all the statutes, registers, and other papers of economic interest, which have already been published in the Transactions, &c., of Historical and other learned societies in Italy. For, if I may quote a pregnant sentence of Professor Villari's—

> 'è certo che non si potrà mai scrivere una vera storia . . . se prima non saranno pubblicati, esaminati, studiati, con dottrina storica e giuridica ad un tempo, gli Statuti e le leggi dei nostri Comuni.' [1]

NOTE.—My best thanks are due to Prof. Villari for kindly aiding me to procure the privilege of borrowing books from the Riccardian, Marucellian, and National Libraries; to Dr. Guido Biagi, Director of the Laurenzian Library, for valuable bibliographical information; to Mrs. Baxter ('Leader Scott'), Hon. Member of the Accademia delle Belle Arti, for information concerning the relation of the Arte della Lana to Florentine art; and to the Comm. Berti, Director of the Archivio di Stato, for permission to be received there 'fra gli studiosi.'

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[1] *Primi due Secoli*, Vol. II. c. vii. p. 1.

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A NARRATIVE OF THE JOURNEY OF CECILIA, PRINCESS OF SWEDEN, TO THE COURT OF QUEEN ELIZABETH.

COMMUNICATED BY MISS MARGARET MORISON.

April 21

AMONG the Royal MSS. at the British Museum is a pretty little volume of some seventy-two pages, dedicated to Queen Elizabeth, which seems practically to have escaped notice. It was written in the year 1565, by one James Bell, and gives an account of a somewhat remarkable journey across the north of Europe, which had just been accomplished by a Swedish princess, ostensibly in order to gratify her strong desire to visit the Court of the great English queen. It is uncertain whether the writer (of whom we have little further knowledge) was with the princess on her journey or not, but it was certainly by her desire that he wrote and presented this account of the voyage to Elizabeth.

The lady who undertook this remarkable enterprise was Cecilia, second daughter of the celebrated Gustavus Vasa, King of Sweden. She has been described as the 'fairest of her family,' and from an early age her beauty seems to have excited the interest of the princes of Europe, for we hear of several suitors for her hand. One of these, Count John of Friesland, received such ready encouragement from the young princess herself as to cause no little scandal. Gustavus was deeply incensed; he summarily imprisoned the Count, and it was not without some difficulty that the latter escaped with his life.

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It was Cecilia's eldest brother, Eric, the Crown Prince, who for a few short years was such an ardent wooer of Queen Elizabeth; his father, Gustavus, never really favoured the project, foreseeing little good to Sweden from such an alliance, but he yielded so far to his hot-headed son as to send two embassies over to England, one while Elizabeth was still Princess, the second shortly after she had ascended the throne. This latter embassy was conducted on a scale of great magnificence by Eric's brother John, Duke of Finland. The handsome young Duke arrived in this country with a brilliant retinue, scattered his money with reckless profusion, was much fêted at Court, and returned home, having accomplished nothing, it is true, but loud in his praises of a queen who had entertained him right royally.

Shortly after Cecilia's unhappy experience with the Count of Friesland her brother returned to Sweden with his glowing account of the English Court. It is not improbable that she was in a mood to welcome any distraction. At any rate, according to our author, she listened with even more eagerness than the others to Duke John's tale, and from that moment announced her fixed intention of some day coming to England herself, and seeing with her own eyes this celebrated queen. To further her purpose (in which she persisted in spite of the decided opposition of her family) it is alleged that she announced her determination to wed only the suitor who would promise to take her to England within a year of the marriage. This condition is supposed to have been accepted by the Marquis of Baden (a German prince attached to the Swedish service) in the year 1564, and before long they had started on the journey, in which ten months were to be passed.

There is, of course, another possible motive for the expedition, which might be discussed at much length, and which lends a political significance to the Princess's mission. On the other hand no such motive seems to have been revealed to her historiographer, who observed only that King Eric was averse to the whole undertaking, and indeed allowed his sister

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such an insufficient escort that it is wonderful that the travellers came through with their lives. Again, he observed that at the English Court so little was known definitely of the coming of the Swedish Princess that ships were sent to meet her at Emden, while she was speeding hard on her way to Calais; and when she finally landed at Dover the arrangements for her reception were most hurried and incomplete.

Moreover, although she could carry out a diplomatic *rôle* with much astuteness, it is probable that Cecilia's own ambition did not lie in this direction, for she continued a restless and aimless traveller to the end of her days, squandering her fortune upon her useless journeys, and ending her days in great poverty.

To the Narrative of the Journey itself, which has been given here in its original form, several contemporary notices of the Princess's subsequent proceedings at the English Court, from the State Papers of the period, have been appended, which will also throw some light upon the political side of her visit, which has been already referred to.

Other notices may be found calendared amongst the Reports of the Historical Manuscripts Commission on the Hatfield House MSS.[1]

TO THE MOSTE HIGHE, MIGHTIE, PUISSANTE, AND VERTUOUS PRINCE ELIZABETH BY THE GRACE OF GOD QUENE OF ENGLANDE, FRAUNCE AND IRELANDE, DEFENDOR OF THE FAYTHE, ETC. ETC.

THE too Princypall causes, that first moved me to Dedicate my rude Laboures to your Maiestie, that is, your wyde stretched fame (moste Gracious Quene) the wounderfull affeccõne of your new Gueste the honorable Princes Caecilia towards your Grace, The self same even in my entrey, broughte me into suche perplexitie, that I wholie hadd determynedd with mye selfe, not to exhibite anie parte of the

[1] Part I., pp. 318 sqq.

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same to your highnes: for of theone syde to entreate of the noble Ornamentes that do sette foorthe and magnifie your roiall estate, your highe magnificence, your excellente gyftes of nature, yor wisdome, your sage and prudent Governemente, (that as an Adamante cann drawe Princes owte of their seates from the farthest parte of the worlde) seemed a verie honorable endevour: And as to commende ymmortall memorie the wonderfull zeale, and lovinge desire of so vertuous a Princes, the greate travayle of so farre a straunger attempted onlye by the alluremente of the fame of yor excellente vertues and Princelie qualities, Seemedd also a praiseworthie Enterprise, So yeat beinge in my self guiltie of my simple wytte and base style, and therefore iustlye fearinge, leste whatsoever I should wryte herein, shoulde be but a thankeles labour, as rather a diminishinge then settinge foorthe your Renowmed glorie and her worthie enterprise (wayenge also herein my lowe estate and Condic̃one) myne owne opynione did a longe time beare backe and greatlye abashe me. Againe whan I consideredd wth myselfe the wounderfull Clemencie that moste brightlie shyneth in your gracious countenaunce; your gentle and lovinge acceptinge even of the meaneste presentes and endevoures of your humble subiects. I was by thes and other your vertues no lesse moved, then by her Example (whose travailes I write) emboldened to dedicate my laboures of this shorte Discourse to yor highnes. Beinge throughlie confirmed I coulde not accomplishe the dutie of a lovinge subiecte better, then yf by this symple token, I shoulde testifie my humble dutie towardes your grace. And for so muche as this noble and moste vertuous princes Caecilia, hathe not only attempted but acchieved so greate and longe a voiadge, as before her time the lyke hathe not beene seene, provoked onlye hereunto by the fame of the wounderfull guiftes that so aboundauntlie declare themselves in your Roiall estate: I thought it wolde not sownde unto your highnes eares muche amisse, yf by some small discourse of the same, your highnes mighte be made somewhat acquainted bothe wth the Originall cause, and chiefe occasione that first moved her to enterprise so

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greate a voyadge, and also with the processe of her toylesome progresse: when yt beganne, wherebye and by whose meanes it proceaded, by what travailes it was susteined, howe and when it ended. I thoughte also not ympertinente in the beginninge to annexe a shorte Note, wherein (as in a Table) the noumbers of Miles, the Distaunce and nature of places mighte appeare. I shall not neede to use manie wordes in coñendacõn of this vertuous Ladie: not doughtinge, but her presence dothe fullie answere the good opinione that your grace of longe time have conceaved of her beinge absente: Althoughe what praise maye be more then that she a tender woman of moste tender nature & nurture, shall adventure and overcome so longe and dangerous a iourneye by lande and seas? Ledd and as it were allured by the love and admiracõne of vertue? for yf the Quene of Saba deserved to be chronycled with praise in sacred Byble, for that (enflamed wth love of wisdome), she travailed in comparisone a shorte iourneye to visytte the Courte of Salomon, there to enioye the presence of so wyse a Kynge; whie this your Princes (youres I saye synce wholie she yealdeth to be youres) takinge no lesse, yea muche greater enterprise for lyke cause, shoulde not be also Registred in the treasure of memorie, I see nothinge to the contrarie, for as neither your highness in vertue, neither her grace in affeccõne, maye seeme in oughte to geave place to those Princes Salomon and Saba: so am I sure in estate, Renowme, and in effectuall acte, youe are in all respectes their equall. But since her deedes declare her noble mynde, and I herein have taken in hande not to displaie her praise, but shortelie to disclose unto your highnes the soñe of this her journeye, I leave the same better to be uttered by viewe of her travaile (wch after followeth) then by anie floorishe of wordes that my symple skylle cann conceave to wryte. Beseachinge your highnes herein of pardone as well for this my rude and unpoolyshedd style, as also for my rashe and bolde attempte.

Your moste humble Subiecte

JAMES BELL.

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THE NAMES OF THE DUKEDOMS, CITIES AND TOWNS WHICH THE NOBL PRINCESS CECILIA OVERPASSED IN HER TRAVEL, WITH THE DISTANCE OF THE MILES ACCORDING TO THE MANNER OF ENGLAND, AS HEREAFTER.

	MILES
Stockholm	21
Waxhollome	60
Younkefrowesownde	72
Eoland.	
Korpestroem	54
Quinelaxe	42
Finnelande.	
Younkefrowehambde	54
Stromeren	42
Dinsale	48
Lyfelande.	
Renell	88
Regell	18
Pades	18
Lodde	42
Roken	36
Pernowe	30
Gudmans Berke	36
Scales	35
Lemseye	42
Rykenhuyzen	36
Newemyll	30
Karckholme	36
Musse	24
Mysolte	18
Littowe.	
Sogenkark	30
Sode	25
Sallade	20
Snapisk	25
Krythnone	30
Krachnone	15
Raden	30
Kenden	15
Labun	20
Getham	25
Kukanaue	10
Cowyne	15

Prussia.	MILES
Ragnette	60
Tylzey	3
Krapiske	12
Istenburghe	15
Baungardie	18
Taplack	9
Tapiaine	12
Quinzeburghe	12
Brandeburghe	9
Hylgenbeith	15
Frawenburghe	18
Elbewike	12
Ferden	12
Danske	21
Smecken	18
Pomerlande.	
Lomenburghe	15
Stollpe	21
Slagum	9
Kelslymme	12
Kolberghe	15
Grypenburghe	15
Golnowe	18
Stetyne	18
Paslycke	15
The Duchy of Mechelbourghe.	
Newingburghe	18
Wardyne	12
Dobryne	18
Grabowe	15
Garluz	9
The Duchy of Saxony.	
Lunenburghe	18
Horne	18
Sneberlyne	18

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The County of Bremme.	MILES
Ferden	15
Bremme	18
The County of Oldenberg	
Delmenhoorste	6
Oldenburghe	24
Apen	24
East Friselande.	
Sterkehusen	6
Embden	24
Greten	6
Lockewarte	6
West Frieslande.	
Gremmynge	24
Rulle	48

Brabante.	MILES
Hartenburghe	27
Hambden	24
Dauentrie	27
Neuentyne	24
Armden	21
Wartyne	21
Herizenbusch	28
Luckterne	27
Anwarpe	9
Flanders.	
Sterken	15
Eklog	27
Bruges	30
Newkircke	18
Denkyrcke	18
Cayleys	15

WHAT tyme the Duke of Finnelande, Duke John, Brother unto the Princes Caecilia aboute five yeares paste arryved heere in England, and hadd made his often repaire to your highnes Courte, beinge sente (as their Reporte was riefe) in Embassadge from the puissaunte Gosthaus kinge of Sweden Gothes and Vandales; As he was of your maiestie in moste princelie wise receaved & entertained, So he spared not at his retourne to make suche honorable Reporte unto the king his father, with the princes his Brothers & Sisters as well became his personage, and as your bountie well deserved. The sweete sownde and verie Rehersall of whiche princelye Courtesie kendled in them all (as it were) a secrete love and singlar admyracõne of your highnes. Emongest whom them gentle and vertuous princes Madame Caecilia beinge no lesse moved with the Reporte of your noble vertues, then the Quene of Saba was with the fame of Salomones wisedome,

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gave eare to the Relac̃one of her brother muche more attentyvelie then anie of the reste. And wth contynuall Enquirie and mutuall conference seemed to Imprente the Ioyefull remembraunce thereof so deepelie in her mynde, as she from thencefourthe neither mighte, ne wold suffer the same to slippe out of her memorie. And as of fewe and slender sparkes are often encreased greate and fervente fyers, So she of bare Reporte conceaved suche greate and fervente thirste to enioye the presence of yor Maiestie (whom she esteamed the fountaine from whence those vertuous streames did flowe) that ever synce that tyme, thus hathe bene her care, her travaill, her chiefe petyc̃one of God and men, that ones she mighte enioye your happie sighte her hartes desire: And synce this hath bene her practize by all maner and waies conveniente to bringe to passe her iuste affecc̃one; so muche that yt seemed she took no delighte so greatly in any time, as in that she employed in the talke of Englande, in the addrefsinge of her voyadge, in the remembraunce of yor Maiestie. Thinkinge (as it seemed) everie houre otherwise used ydellie spente. And that she might declare her fervente good will herein, to make yt manyfeste to her Countreymen: There came not at anye time any Englishe man into that Countrey of anie honeste name or serviceable behaviour, but that she wolde receave him her self; yea and wold thinke it an Iniurie done unto her, yf she mighte not have retayned hym; yea so muche she fedd and nourishedd the increadible affecc̃one planted in her breaste, that before she coulde gette oportunitie to come into Englande she endevoured her selfe altogether to be an Englishe woman. And that she mighte not be unfournishedd herein, when she mighte happen to bringe her desire to effecte, she laboured so fervently as well by greate studie as by contynuall conference that within foure yeares space she hathe attayned the english toungue; and as your grace dothe well perceave speakithe the same veric well. A Language not verie easie to be learned, the greate noumbre of straungers notw^th^standinge nourishedd uppe from their greene yeares here in the pale of Englande declare

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no lesse. The Italianes, Portugales, Spaniardes, Frenche, Dutche, and Irishe men, skarse in XX years beinge here in Englande are able to show any perfecc̃one of our tounge, yea for the moste parte do consume their Lives here, and yet dye unlearned in the same, yeat suche was the marvaylous affecc̃one and ardente desire of this moste excellente princes, that beinge above three thousande Englishe myles owt of Englande, accoumpanied with a fewe poore Englishe men, and suche as her liberall entertaynemente onlie hadd woonne, and as yt were constrayned to abide wth her, that she hathe not onlye learned perfectlie to pronounce, but also can perfectlie reade and somewhat write o^r^ naturall Englishe tounge; yea (I weene) more naturall, then manie our naturall englishe men. What her further purpose was herein allmost a blinde man maye iudge, and her happie successe declareth no lesse; for what mighte it have profyted her in Sweden to speake Englishe? as muche as yt mighte profitte anie other in Englande to speake Swenche having not at anie time in Englande any use therefore. But she thoroughlie confirmed in Englande to shewe the fruites of her studie gotten, as I have saide before, soughte all occasiones how she mighte wth all expedic̃one in Englande speake Englishe with Englishe men, for she omytted no tyme, no place, no occasione that mighte convenientlie be ministered, but yt was wholie applied to the entreatie of her Brother Ericus, the kinge that now is, his good will for her iourney into Englande. Besydes this duringe three yeares practize of marriadge betwixte her grace and the valyaunte Earle of Teuzinc^e^ although after affiaunce made betwene them, she with as wyffelie faithe, yelded her whole good wyll and affecc̃one to his honour, as therein she seemed to beginne the race of Alceste or Penelope; and thoughe the noble Earle (whom thoughe deceased nowe for honor sake I name) wth mutuall Love requyted her good will so farre, (as I praye God where lyke occasione is shewed lyke effecte in some partes may followe) yeat wolde she not spare openlye to affirme, that who so ever shoulde take her to wyfe, shoulde solemplie vowe to bringe her into

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Englande w^th^in one yeare nexte after her espousells; yea some holde opinione that it was a Covenaunte in contracte betwixte her grace, and the Marques now her husbande.

Now (as I have before) when she hadd obtained to be a good Englishe scholer, she thought the time not to be differed, but ymagined everie daie to be a yeare untill she coulde wynne her brother to her desire: So that whereas he was in Denmarke in the warres foorthe from his owne Courte, by the space of three hundred Englishe myles, for the more expedic̃one, thoughte it not good to expecte his retourne, but wolde in her owne persone travaile where he then was, touchinge her departure into Englande. And the XVIIIth daie of Septembre in the yeare of our Lorde God, 1564, at Stockehollome (a cytie in Sweden where her brothers Courte is kepte) entringe a small vessell, beganne her iourney by water towardes a towne called Tellinge; who beinge accoumpanied wth my Lord Marques and a few others, were in this beginninge of her enterprise lyke to have byne intercepted, for, thoughe yt was but a freshe water whereupon they sailed, yet the surges thereof were so cruell, that my Lord him selfe was compelled wth the reste of the coumpanie, to helpe to lade owt the water that overflowed the vessell exceadinglie: and yf the greater grace of God hadd not in time pluckte downe the rage of the boisteous whirlewindes, they muste by lykelyehoode all have perishedd. What mighte her grace thinke of the reste of her purposed iourney, that before her lies in this small beginninge, behelde suche ym̃ynent daunger in so small a River, farre unequall either for the highe surges or boylinge waves to the swellinge rage of the foaminge Seas? Mighte this not rather have daunted the minde of a Princes not enured wth suche fearefull frightes, and forced her to Retyre and forsaken her enterprise? She did not knowe yor grace: she was by no proofe of her parte assured how acceptable her c̃ominge shoulde be unto your highnes: She was allured only wth fame and reporte of youre excellente vertues, which might happelie worke some privie hope in her breste of some prosperous successe, yet hadd she never tasted anye

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experience of the same: She was also by others allwaies persuaded to the cõtrarie. She fownde her Brother allwaies unwillinge to graunte her Requeste. She did contynuallie here the lamentable entreaties and naturall Requestes of her Brothers and sisters, to whom nature bindeth to be moste deareste. She tasted her entrie wonderfull perillous. She mighte well suspecte of this small Journey what was most lyke to ensewe of that remayned. Yet suche was her yncreadible desire and constauncye, that all those could not move her. She hadd so deepelie printedd the unknowen figure of your maiestie in her harte, that it appeared loste labour what so ever was persuaded to dissuade her settled mynde. But forwarde she wolde & came to Tellinge, from thence to Horneshollome, where my Lorde not beinge able to provide for her grace and her traine as becõmedd her estate (the countrey beinge replenished wth poore inhabitauntes only) Requested her to abyde his retourne at that place; and takinge poste horses rode towardes the kinge: who beinge gone before no more but one daies iourneye, contrarie to all expectacõn, (her estate and bringinge uppe consideredd) fournishedd only wth padde & pannell suche as the Boores and husbandmen of Countrey do occupie for their owne affaires (a fourniture no lesse uncomelie then uneasie) tooke horses lykewise and followed after in poste. So that in the space of one daie and one nighte she attayned to Sowercopinge: where she did meete wth the kinge her Brother, And makinge there but one daies abode, rode backe to Stockehollome from whence they firste sette foorthe. And here remayninge longer then her good will was, beinge assailed of all partes with sweete & lovinge persuasiones either wholie to cutte of her purposed iourney, or at the leaste to differre the same until a better time of the yeare more apte and easie for travaile, wold not by anie meanes be dissuaded, but remayned ynvyncible. Yea the kinge himself sometimes with half commaundinge wordes, sometimes with sweete and gentle entreatie, sometime wth wylie pollicies, proceadinge yeat from naturall and tender affecõne assaied the same: one

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daie gevinge his worde that she shoulde cause her fournyture and provisione to be brought a shipp boorde, and coñaundinge all thinges necessarie to be in a readyness, the nexte daye revokinge his promise and repealinge his commaundment, and so from daye to daye still delayenge the tyme, to thende the crueltie of the extreame wynter beinge now at hande might cause a terrour to her grace and make her to revolte. But she altogether persuaded and armedd at all pointes wth the ynwarde Love of your highnes, neither with the terro^{r} of the raginge seas, nether with the pernicious aire of the bitter wynter, neither wth traine nor sweete alluringe of the kinge her Brother, coulde any thinge be altered from her fixed purpose. But still contynuynge her sute, at the laste overcame her brother, and was addressedd to her voyadge readie to take shippinge at Stockehollome aforesaid the XII$^{t\backslash}$ daie of November then nexte ensewinge. Where (allthoughe quite againste their hartes) the kinge wth the reste of her Brothers & Sisters did honorablie conducte her to the waters syde. What did I say? honorablie? nay rather mournefullie as to her grave, for who hadd seene the funeralls of the moste famous and beste beloved prince in the worlde, mighte here have wanted no other token of lyke hevynes, but onlie the buriall coffines shrowded in Sabell veyle. Suche were the hartes, suche were the countenaunces of the departinge[1] Princes. There were sweete kyssinges intermyxte wth salte teares. There were countenaunces wthowt wordes. There were clyppinges betwixte the sisters not able skarse to be unclosed. What shall I saye? myself coulde skarse refraine teares in hearinge the reporte thereof, finding yet more cause of teares in this that after followeth. The most vertuous Princes Sophia, sister to her grace was so deepelie wounded with sorowe for this her departure, that whiles they were embracynge eche other, she fell in a sowne before her sisters feete, and coulde skarselie be revyved, beinge carriedd owt of the presse as one whose sowle hadd departed from the

[1] Old form = to divide, separate. In the old office of Marriage the form ran 'Till death us *depart*,' now corrupted to *do part*.

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bodie. All this susteyned this ynvincyble princes for the loue of your maiestie, yea more then this (moste gracious Quene) And yet this mighte have removed a true and faythefull harte: which proofe of her constaunte affecc̃one towardes yor highnes persone, I here surcease[1] wth needles wordes to amplyfie, since that the sequele of her wearie race declares the same before more greater proofes. The XIIIth of Novembre she sailed to Waxehollome; the XIVth XVth and XVIth beinge contynuallye at sea; they haled over to Hellengenhaven in Eolande. This daye the shippe saylinge rounde about the huge and monstruous Rockes of Fynnelande, (for suche was their navigac̃one in windinge compas without and ynnewaye tourninges that sometimes they mighte easelie have fastened their pykes in the syde of them) there beganne to aryse so lowde and fierce a tempeste, that the steresman himselfe (who only oughte to be the onlie coumforte of the shippe) gave over; and poyntinge to a Rock with his finger; 'yonder, on yonder Rocke (q. he) by sowthe we shall all be caste awaie,' and wth the same worde forsooke the helme reddye to leape over boorde, hadd he not bene staied by one of the Coumpanie. Yeat suche was the goodnes of God, and rather favour of the wyndes then well guidinge of the pylote, that even now upon the wrecke, the shippe shoven aside from the Rocke, overpassed so greate and presente perille. Overpassed I saye, for eskaped how should I saye, since ymediatelye by necessitie forced they must venter upon no lesse daungerous a Coaste; but (for that which happened) farre more full of terrour, for directinge forward their course, they approched neere a pointe named the Quinelaxe, a marvailous daungerous passadge: where beinge under saile the XVIIth of November, not able to staye their course, sawe before their eies one shippe rashte[2] in pieces, and the mariners crienge for helpe to them that even now were lyke to be helples them selves, for the same course that thother ranne before, they muste needes and did roonne presently

[1] To stop, cease, refrain.

[2] *Sic* in MS. *i.e.* to snatch, tear, or rend, but cf. p. 194, l. 17.

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after, But by the grace of God eskaped. After this saylinge still betwixte the rockes on thone side, and in the face of their enemies the Danes (readye allwaies to pushe in upon them) on thother side. Arryved at laste at user in the same countrey of Fynnelande the Vth daie of Decembre, and there remayninge till the IXth of the same (the countrey not beinge able to provyde them victuell) standinge betwixte too extremyties, chose rather to hassarde themselves in the terryble seas, then by longer abode to fall into extreame penurye of necessaries. So that they took shippinge in a moste terryble tempeste what tyme the storme coñynge upon them wonderfull faste, and the wind beinge outragious, and the shippe boye, (for wante of heede) havinge cut the sayle before the ancre was wayed, The shippe betwixte the full sail and the faste ancre holde, was lyke to put her nose quite under water, or wth the recoylinge of the surges and waves in daunger to be crashte in pieces. And yet this storme wth lyke happe overpassed, they sayled forwarde betwixte the Rockes. And towardes nighte, as the winde waxed more calme, the seas also abatinge somewhat in courage, and her grace allmoste weriedd in thes perplexyties, was desirous to repose herselfe ashore. So that somewhat before nighte she was sette a shoare in her shippe boate in a lande to her unknowen, in wylde and deserte wooddes, forsaken, (as it were) for the unfrendlynes thereof as well of brute and savadge beastes, as everie other inhabytaunte. And that no parte of her iourney mighte wante cause of feare and pensyveness, The boate hadd not yet attayned the shippe, before there arose a soddaine Tempeste and almoste drowned the Boate, the Shippemaster, Pylote, and all the beste maryners. Duringe which time her grace was a shore accoumpanied but with a verie fewe, and contrarye to her expectaco̅ne without house or herberow,[1] having no victuell in a deserte nor entertaynement in a barren Countrey, must needes with gladdesome will, yelde over all that wynter nighte in all thextremytie of colde to the colde grounde. And because the place mynistred

[1] Lodging.

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no soccoure from the smarte boisteous wyndes, muste be contented to shrowde herselfe in her servantes cloakes, whiles they were enforced to shippe about therewhiles in their Jerkines, to gette heate to their Lymes, which otherwise mighte have waxed styffe before morninge throughe the hoarye froste and wante of warmer mantelles. Besides this they hadd no meate to refreshe their houngrie bodies, but suche fowle as some of the servauntes mighte happelie kill with their goonnes. A verie freshe entertaynemente to refreshe a weried princes. But suche was the extremytie of the time, and the wyldnes of the savadge wydernes: wherewith she seemed almoste nothinge to be dismaiedd. But cherefullie callinge her Servauntes together: 'Come hither (quod she) what is this for a colde Lodginge. Let us nowe talke of the Quene of Englande: who knoweth not in what case I am now: The remembraunce of whom hathe allwaies hitherto putte awaie all troubles, feares and daungers owt of my heade,' and so passed over all that colde nighte. The nexte daye tooke shippinge and arryved at Renell, a cytie within the province of Lyfelande. At which place (as the solempnitie of the time required) stayenge for a Seasone prepared with all possible reverence and Relligione to celebrate the feaste of the Natyvytie of Christe. During which time for that her Graces necessarie journey did lie directlye throughe parte of the Dominione of the kinge of Polande (beinge not in League with the kinge of Sweden) she was constrayned by waie of Requeste to obtaine his favorable pasporte to pass over his countrey with her traine without interrupc̃one: which beinge obtained with muche diffycultie the secounde daie of Marche renewed her desired Journey: but bothe for the Noveltie straunge, for the lengthe marvaylous, and for the maner, not to tender women, but even to stoughteste men fearefull to adventure. That is to saye, was carriedd in a sledd by manie daies Journeye drawen with horses altogether upon Ice. Which kind of travaile how unplesaunte it was, the late terrible winter did playnlie declare and shewe us here in Englande; bothe for the crueltie of the colde, and lykewise

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for the perill and daunger of the Ise: which yf at anie time shoulde have resolved, muste needes have cutte of their purposed journey. But she refusinge no daunger to attaine her desire Departed in this sorte from Renell by Regel to Pades and so to Pernone the uttermoste frountier of all Sweden, where beganne a newe broyle, for here not withstandinge the kinge of Polandes pasporte, they were in daunger of the Moskovyter, who bordereth upon Pades and is Enemie to the kinge of Sweden, into whose handes yf they hadd fallen, they muste needes have all perished. Whom the Swenche Guarrysone (that were appointed by her Brother to conducte her in the voyadge) standinge in dreade of, as of their mortall Enemie, lefte her alone with her owne traine, even as a praie unto the Enemie readie to be devoured and spoyled. For the avoydinge whereof havinge afore determynedd to have reposed herself here (beinge weried as well with longe turmoile by sea, as wante of refreshinge by lande) was constrained to hassarde herselfe in the darke night in an unknowen and perillous countrey. And so the whole traine travaylinge without victuell for themselves or forrage for their horses all that nighte, and untill the afternoone of the nexte daie, with swyfte and never ceasinge travaile, came to Sales the VIIth daie of Marche, where the Heremaster of Lyfelande receaved her, and the nexte daie convoiedyd her to Lemsey, where she reposed herselfe untill the XIth daie of the same monethe. And from thence sette forwarde to Rie^{e} a cittie subiecte to the kinge of Polande, yeat a free Cittie, suche a one as hathe free accesse of all straungers for the use of traffique or otherwise. And here she determyned somewhat to refreshe her weried bodie: But contrarie to her expectac̃one the Burghemasters of Rie wolde not permytte her so muche as once to entre into their Cyttie. By which their uncourtesie compelled, she tourned from thense to Newemyll, betwixte Hensken, where beinge receaved after the polishe maner (which is no lesse straunge then statelie) was so muche greved with the ungratefull Refusall of the men of Rie, that throughe the same, and her former restles toyle,

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she fell into suche an extreame sickness, as all the Coumpanie seemed well neere to dispaire of her healthe and recouverie, yeat after two daies only tarriaunce proceaded from thence to Mysse, being skarse any iote recoveredd of her paynefull & sharpe sycknes. By reasone whereof, and the too speadie renewinge her troublesome toyle, became more grevouselie sick then before, for at this place the rage of her cruell disease bereafte her so of memorie, that it seemed her wyttes were skarse her owne. But loe, thoughe weaknes and verie extremytie of Sicknes caused her senses to faile, so that she knewe them not whom daylie she sawe, and which hadd bene contynuall partakers of her sorrowes: yet could not the same sycknes bereave the ioyefull Remembraunce of your maiestie from her faythefull breaste; for what time to her almoste fayntinge drinke beinge broughte by master Northe, and she not knowenge him demaunded who he was, after that she hadd herde his name. 'Nay, nay' (quod she) yf my servaunte Northe were here, I am assured we shoulde have some menc̃one of the Quene of Englande:' seeminge even with the name somewhat to have conceaved of better courage. Now whiles she hadd contynuedd here a fewe daies by occasione of her sycke and weake bodie, she departed from Mysse the XVIIIth daie of Marche; and the XIXth came to Sallade in Lyttome, the moste barbarous countrey in the worlde: a people as rude of maners as frowarde of stomack: for whose uncyvill behavioure and uppelandishe[1] fasshyones they are accoumpted Savadge and brute beastes, even of their neereste neighboures. Here her grace (whose nature did abhorre suche untractable peasauntes) beinge verie muche dismayedd therewith, with as muche speede as she possiblie mighte passed that unfrendlie countrey and came the XXXth daie of Marche to Cowyne, a towne in Samozitche within the Dukedome of Lyttome, where she made an ende of her perillous iourney by Ise. Certenlye a voyadge (as seemethe to our eares that have not proved the lyke) no lesse daungerous with coursers in charriotte to cutte the swellinge seas, then it

[1] Countryfied.

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was sometime marvaylous the aged Dedalus (yf olde reporte be true) with waxed wyinges to cutte the Candiane Skies. At Cowyne she remayned untill the XVIIIth of April, duringe which time beganne newe tydinges to springe, but suche as well might have byne spared; and as all the reaste, so the same full of discoumforte, not without incredible perille: for here upon the viewe of the kinge of Polandes pasporte, the inhabytauntes of Cowne practized to defeate the same, and surmysinge that she hadd abused the benefytte thereof, alleadged that contrarye to the graunte of her pasporte, she hadd passed those countreis which she ought not to have passed; whereby they wold have entrapped her, and betrayed her into thandes of the Duke of Olyka an olde an auncyent Enemie to the kinge of Sweden; unto whom she muste needes have rendred her self captyve with her whole traine, and of force have abydden an extreame Raunesome accordinge to his inordynate wyll, or perhappes skarse eskaped with lyf. Owt of whose handes when she by longe entreatie, by sweete and lovinge wordes hadd wouen herselfe, with gladd and speadie course she at the laste recovered Ragnette, a castle of the Duke of Prussie: where restinge not above too daies travayled foorthe to Tylzey a toune which lieth within the Dukedome of Prussie. At which place (Easter drawinge neere) she only for the honour of the feaste contynuedd foure daies space without proceadinge any farther. After which time beinge passed, renewinge eftesones her longe and paynefull voyadge, so farre she travayled those countreyes, till after eighte daies iourney she attayned to Quinseburghe, and there meetinge with the Duke of Prussie (as before) accoumpanied with all his nobilytie receaved & welcom̃ed her and (for her sake) my Lorde the Marques with all his traine in as princelie maner as mighte be devised. Soe now beganne the firste signe and (as I mighte saye) the kalendes of better hope to entre in; The grieselie face of passed dangers to seeme more mylde; for the Duke him self for his owne parte entreated[1] her not as a straunger, but as she hadd byne the soveraigne

[1] Entertained.

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Ladie and Princes of his countrey. Nether was his courtesie in receavinge her greater then his Liberalytie in her entertaynemente. Without money or eschaunge, they bought all fourniture of provisione, bothe for her presente abode there, and for their voyadge straight at hande: Nether could his courteous nature here staie the course of his liberall handes, onles he hadd also adourned and almoste enryched her with soundrie gyftes as tokens of his princelie courage. This did the aged Duke, firste (as it were) ravished with her greate constauncie, and noble mynde, perceavinge her desire to proceade only of a vertuous zeale, then moved with foresighte of the daungers which she was lyke hardelie to escape in the reste of her iourney: Lastelye stirred with respecte of her estate, and desire (as he himselfe confessed) to have his countrey honored with the birthe of her offespringe; which otherwise by shortenes of time, (whereof she hadd no spare) or by the turmoyle of so longe and tedious travaile, mighte happelie have bene borne in an obscure and unknowen countrey. Here frendly greetinges: here pleasaunte entertaynemente; here ioyefull countenaunces, here coastlye banquettes: here eche delight that might allure a tender harte from paynefull and perillous daungers, besette her on eche syde. But she styll fixed in her former purpose, amyddes of all her ioyes, chiefe ioye she deemed this to thinke upon your maiestie. As well appeared what tyme, she with the Duke honoringe with their persones the marriadge daye of an Englishe marchante, called to her then sittinge at meate the Brydegroome. And takinge in her hande a piece filled with wyne, with gladd semblaunt and smylynge countenaunce, and that in the hearinge of the Duke with all the reaste: 'I drinke (quoth she) a carowse (suche is the maner there) unto the Quene of Englande, whom I praie God I maye once see before I dye; then should I thinke my travaile bothe well bestowed and fully recompensed.' Trulie this maye seeme a matter worthie praise: But that she after so manie travailes atchieved, so manye daungers overpassed, the terror whereof even yet remaynedd freshe within her memorie: after so

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pleasaunte entertaynemente with sweete allurement of presente reste and securytie entysinge the weried spreetes no lesse (I weene) then Circes cuppes to embrace the certaine ioyes: havinge also the daungers of the untrodden progresse yet to come before her eies: That she (I saye) eschewinge the reste for vertues sake betooke her to her former travayle, what worthie name she hath hereby deserved, I leave to greater iudgements to be skande, for me yt may suffice in fewe wordes to conclude that yet remayneth of her voyadge. She ymediatlye upon her departure from Prussie, muste needes passe again throughe parte of the kinge of Polandes countrey, where she was not assured whether she shoulde be as uncourteouselie abused as she was before at Cowine touchinge the shewe of her pasporte, which notwithstandinge she persisted in her former ynvyncyble determynac̃on, and hastenинge her iourney forewarde, attained at the laste to Danske, a cytie subiecte to the kinge of Polande, where throughe the yñoderate haste that she made to shorten her travayle, she distempered her bodie, and renewed her sycknes. So that she was constrained to abyde in this cyttie by the space of sixe weekes although altogether againste her wyll. But there was no Remedie, excepte she wold wyllefully putte her lyfe and her charge withall in adventure. Wherefore after she was somewhat (as yt were) grevelye reccuvered of her Sicknes, perceavinge her tyme to approche daylie neere and neere, addressed her selfe to a freshe toyle; and makinge skarse too daies abode in any place with all expedic̃one passed the countreis of Pomerlande, Mechelbourghe, Saxone, Lunenburghe, Bremme, Oldenburghe, and after XXX^{ty} daies contynuall travayle, came at laste to Steckuzen a castle in Easte Friselande; where the Ladie of Embden beinge her owne naturall sister, receaved her as Princelie & lovinglie as reasone and nature mighte devise: for thoughe courtesie mighte well move the worthie Duke in princelie wise to entertaine so straunge and rare a Gueste, yet Nature must of right muche more enflame the Ladies minde with hartie ioye, to see her owne bloode, her lyfe, her deere and welbeloved

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sister, not seene before by space of manie yeares; not like throughe distaunce and daungers of the voyadge ever of her to have bene seene: She therefore tendringe her plighte, as pittie rooneth soone in gentle harte, and perceavinge by conference and computacõne of tyme, that she had then but VIII weekes to accoumpte, fearynge the moste likelie evente of her perillous attempte; comparinge the shorteness of tyme to the lengthe of the remayninge voyadge, and the disturbaunce, that she muste needes endure in the coñon waggones, beganne to dissuade her with all the argumentes she coulde devyse. She laied before her eies the long enquiette and lothesome travayle, thextremytie of the hoate suñer, the necessarie doughte that coulde not lightly be avoyded and surelie muche to be feared, whether in the case that she was in, she might ever have atchieved her desyre. She charged her with the coñon usage of the inferiour estates: who beinge with childe coñonlie take uppe their chambers VI or VIII weekes before their time, leste happelie the carefull mother by some lytle mocõne or stirringe of the bodie be an occasione of preiudice to her charge. But she whom nether her brothers sleightes, nor swellinge seas, nor threatninge Rockes, nor grieselie wynter wyndes, nor (worse then this) the rude and faytheless Lyttowane coulde move: no wounder now thoughe she wolde not yelde unto the softe persuasiones of her sister. She hadd (she said) no seas of Ise to slyde againe, no wilde untamed Dane, no Moskovite, no other Olykane; whom either as her cruell mourtherer, or prowde disdaynefull maister she needed now to feare. Her shorte time she had to go with chylde, she woulde with speadie course prevente. The harde toyle, she wold make easie with remembraunce of the ende. The happie ioye (quod she) the neare at hande, the more even nature stirres to haste thereto. Therefore, thoughe not so soone as she desyred, yeat loe, after tenne daies abode at Steckhusen and Embden, leavinge her sister, and (as to her sister seemed) her savetie and healthe withall behinde her: sette forewarde with all celerytie from Embden: and in sixe

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daies travaile passed throughe the Regiones of Easte and Weaste Fryselande and Brabante, and by contynuall resteles race of almoste foure hundreth englishe miles in lengthe, entred to Anwarpe. A iourneye in so shorte a tyme performed not onlie not to Ladies in their progresse, but skarse (I weene) by marchauntes with their poste horse in their daylie Achates.[1] Where reposinge her selfe by the space of fyve daies only, with lyke celeritie hastened throughe Flaunders: and at the laste recovered to Caleis. Here loe a daye or too awaytinge for the weather; she all the daie contynued wyshinge and praienge for the happie windes: and as the aire was cleare feadinge her eies from a farre with the gladde sighte of the whighte Rockes of the Englishe shore. Tyll at the laste the windes agreenge somewhat to her wyll, the seas notwithstandinge goinge verie highe she with her traine tooke shippinge. And saylinge in her forewarde course with so iocounde a courage, that (when all the passengers were terriblye syck with the cruell surges of the water and the rowlinge of the unsaverie shippe), she was not onlie not sicke, but also standinge above the hatches, feedinge her eies upon the Englishe coaste was unto the sicke passengers a princelie nourse and an especiall coumforte. And even now hadd almoste attained the longe hoped porte: But as the sonne of Ixione, havinge water at the Brinke of his thirstie Lippes, by wante of that he sawe, encreased more his thirste, So she even in the viewe of the desired haven, the ende of all her travells muste be contented to suffre the Repulse and Recoyle of the same, encreasinge so her deepe conceaved desire; for upon the sooddaine a contrarie gale of wynde rysinge, compelled the shippe master to seeke his shyftes, to tourne and retourne, to featche the wynde (as they tearme yt) to applie and replie everie waie whereby he mighte atcheave the haven of Dover. But when she perceaved no hope lefte of attayninge the porte, and that of forse she muste needes retire: (Your maiestie shall heare a sooddaine chaunge) 'Alas (quod she) now muste I needes be sycke bothe in

[1] Contract, bargain.

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bodie and in mynde. I can now endure no longer:' and therewith ymediatly takinge her Cabbaine, betwixte plaintes and sorowes she waxed wounderfull sycke. And so contynued untill the shippe was brought into Caleis haven againe. Where skarse wyllinge to come on shore, overcom̃e at laste with thentreatie of the coumpanie, wolde not with standinge not receave any coumforte, but accusinge her cruell happe all the nighte not ceasinge before she was enfourmed of a faire and large wynde to serve for her newe passadge, she expressed nothinge but countenaunces of hevynes. But after she was ones called upon to make redye to shippeborde, she prepared her selfe with no lesse ioyefull cheare, then Theseus (I thinke) when from the mazie Laberinthe in Creete he sett foorthe with Ariadne to his desired countrey of Athens. Her colour, that was a litle before altogether apalled wanne and deade, appeared againe and shewed as freshe hewe as at any time before: that a man mighte well have mervayled to see in her countenaunce in so small a time so greate alterac̃one. This now the secounde time ioyeouslye entringe the shippe provokethe the mariners with gentle requeste to waie the Ancres and hoyse the sailes, that no time maye be loste. And not withstandinge tempestuous sea furiouslye raged with her wonted surges, and compelled the passengers as before to be extreamelie syck, yet she sittinge allwaies upon the hatches passed the time in singinge the Englishe psalmes of David after the Englishe note and Dyttie. And wolde manie times in myrthe and disporte call the passengers weaklynges not worthie to beare the names of men, that were not able to endure with her beinge but a weake woman. But what prevayled it to hope well? what helpeth gladde courage? what undaunted cheare? The weather allwaie contrarie to her good endevour seemed againe to expresse the Conspiracie betwene Juno and the God Œolus ruler of the wyndes in chasinge awaie of Aeneas navye from the coaste of Italie. So were the skies soodainlie overcaste with clowdes. So strove the frowarde wyndes with backewarde course to beare the unwillinge sayles againe towardes the place from whence

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they laste sette foorthe. So grieselie from the bottome the surginge waves bare uppe the boylinge sandes: which she beholdinge throughe feare and pensyvenes chaungeth her laie, with salte teares tricklinge downe her paled cheekes with a dolefull sighe accusethe her myshappe, and knealinge on her knees with wrounged handes beholding the heavens breaketh owt in this complainte.

O Lorde since by thy workinge wyll yt maye seeme we are come in place more lyke to spille then save: for me no force thy wyll be done in the seas as in the heavens. But yet the lytle one with whom now greate I goe, wolde God in Englande mighte I wishe, even in the handes of that moste noble Quene, that at the leaste yt mighte be nourishedd to some better chaunce then this. Which said drowpinge (as it were) almoste in a sowne entrethe her cabbaine where throughe bitternes of her sighinge and sobbinge altered her stomack, and was verie sore sicke: in so muche that the coumpanie feared muche leaste she wolde even there emongest them have fallen into travayle. But she beinge in this perplexytie of mynde, altogether unwillinge to looke back, desired the shippe master not to applie into Caleis haven, but to caste ancre rather, and abyde the adventure: yf perhappes God wolde cause the wynde to tourne and blowe fortunatelie againe. Whose requeste althoughe in that troubles of the raginge Goulfe was verie perillous, yet the master moved with her mourninge requeste, and trustinge thereby somewhat to assuage the same: Caste ancre: and laie at ancre by the sandes by the space of too or three houres. But yt booteth not to strive againste the secrett determinac̃on of God. The seas wente so highe, and the wyndes waxe so roughe, that of necessytie they muste cutte cable, and betake themselves to the wyndes and weather in hope to gette Caleis againe, for all hope to proceade was clearelie and utterlie cutt of. Therefore as the time served, with muche daunger at laste arryved within Caleis againe. Where no lesse greved with her backewarde course then Andromache is sayed to have bewailed her exile from Troye when she was

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leadd as captive by Achilles soñe to Scyros Ile. And in suche sorte and plighte she endured at Calleis till the weather beganne somewhat to cleare: what time she not so muche moved with the envyous storme of her perill, as greaved with the prolonginge of her wearie travaile almoste finished; Before that the seas were quieted (suche was her thoughtefull care and ynwarde Thirste to wynne the Lande) embarked her selfe againe with all her traine, susteyninge so with better hope her longe and tedious delaye. And now at the laste, once to wynde uppe the longe clewe of her toylesome travaile, after manie a sowre blaste, manie a boisteous billowe, manie nightes passed withowt reste, manie daies without coumforte, manie embrasinges of frendes, manie daungers of her Enemyes, she hardelie hathe attained the happie lande, the ende of all her travayles, and certaine hope of presente ioyes. Even here she seemed to chalenge againe her longe forsaken lightesoomnes of harte. Even as (when Grieselye wynters flawes are faded, the Northerne blastes appeased, the Ise hyckle from saturnus bearde resolved, and soyle made softe in lustie Aprill beginnes to clothe her selfe in gladdesome grene) the Nightingale forgettinge then her former griefes of wofull winter stormes, beginnethe to Recorde her sweete abashed songe with doughtefull voyce. So she the noble princes, halfe overcome with presente happe and ioye of passed sorowes, with teares (not suche as shewe an ynwarde griefe, but suche as do discrye the tender harte overcharged with ioye) breakes owt in praisinge God for this her good successe and happie ende of travaile. Thus fullie fraughte with coumforte she marched forewarde, and with easie iourney (as beinge conveyed in your graces horselitter) which she esteamed yf I might so tearme yt: The Shrene of which the Sainte was owt. Came with good speede to Cantourburie, where the honorable Lorde Cobbham Lorde Wardein of the Cinque portes, and his vertuous Ladie accoumpanied with the honorable and wourshippefull of the Shyre receaved her and conveyed her to Rochester where God encreased her ioye: for beinge lykelie there in her Inne to travayle, yt

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pleased him to reserve the same untill a better time: which she perceyvinge passed foorthe the nexte daie from thence to Gravesende: where the honorable the Lorde of Hunseden meetinge her (as the time and water tyde wolde serve) did moste honorably conducte her to Bedforde house in London.[1] Abydinge there that happie Lighte, wherein she firste behelde your princelie countenaunce, Enioyed the presence of your Roiall personne: And marvayled at your Ornamentes of mynde, of fortune and of Nature.

Thus farre I thought I mighte not all in vaine descrive her wandringe Course: And here of all her Race to sette the Marke.

But what shall I now saye? where shall I firste beginne? Shall I here praise the wandringe Princes, that hathe overpassed so manie seas? so manie troupes of Enemies? so manie straunge countreis for vertues sake alone? Or shall I wonder at those noble vertues? (wch from so farre and distant coastes, as seeme almoste even severed from our worlde, could drawe and eke allure so worthie a wyghte as she, by all those griefes and perilles, to seeke and to pursue, the noble breaste wherein they longe have harboured? O happie wighte whom vertues name and love coulde so attainte! And o' twyse happie giftes of princelie qualities, whose Christall streames, flowinge from your sacred breaste (most Gracious Soveraigne) are fownde to have suche force. Greate is (who seethe not here) the power and strengthe of vertue. Renowmed name achieved by due deserte, surmounteth in valewe the Golden streaminge Sandes and passethe in power the puissaunce of an Empyre. Trulie the shewe and viewe of Riches, with wyde compas of Domynione encreasethe in the beholders an opinione of good successe, rather oftetimes then good regarde of the persone, whom fortune or course of thinges advaunceth. But suche (we see) is vertue; so farre her golden Beames are seene to stretche, so sweete and amyable is her Countenaunce, that whom she deckithe with her heavenlye gyftes, the same eche worthie mynde (thoughe

[1] In the Strand, with a water-gate.

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never seene with eye) yet forced is to love. This noble vertue lodged in your highnes Breaste, dothe yelde (I saye) suche shyninge rayes, as by this one Example of this travelinge Princes, we beholde to beate the skyes, and pearse the eares and myndes of men, manie thowsandes of myles beyonde the frontes and lymyttes of your kyngedome. No mervaile nowe thoughe daylie we have herde your praise even utteredd of your greateste Enemies. No wonder nowe thoughe eache distressedd wighte conceave good hope throughe youe to be redressed. No wounder thoughe your neighbour Regiones mighte seeme sometyme to yelde their neckes unto your graces yoke. No wounder now thoughe my rude penne (not able further to expresse so muche as the Shadowe of so rare and excellent Ornamentes in so greate an Estate) here overpaysed yelde and staye it selfe: and as itt cann on my behalfe humblie beseke your highnes of pardone, that I so weake durste take in hande so great an enterprise, God longe preserve your highnes: whose love towardes youe by thankefull acknowledgmente of thes statelie giftes in your persone, we hope you will contynewe: we truste youe shall encrease: whose honorable and guyett governemente, by ease we learne to praise: whose singular Nobylytie in this your princes all the worlde dothe acknowledge, whom yf I shoulde compare to the Quene of Saba, Salomon muste be the other proofe.

Nowe saied I have enoughe, yf not too muche to one that sooner perceaves then I cann penne; and deeplier waies then I can drawe. And therefore with crave of pardone I do desire my labour to be taken so in worthe, as the meaninge of my endevour hathe byne; and I, acknowledginge my dutie, shall at the leste wise evermore wishe unto your Maiestie longe lyfe to proceade in these beginninges which promise a luckie ende to the honour of your Crowne, Coumforte of your Subiectes and enlarginge of your Realme.

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APPENDIX.

Guzman de Silva (Spanish Ambassador in England) to King Philip of Spain.

(London:) July 2, 1565. 'There has arrived at this Court a servant of the King of Sweden, bringing to the Queen from his master some sables, as well as some for the Earl of Leicester and the Admiral. When the negotiations were on foot for the marriage of that King with the Queen there was some idea of his sister coming here, and it was said she would marry Leicester. She is now married to the Marquis of Baden, but they say on condition that he should bring her here to see this Queen, and they are now at Embden waiting for ships to be sent from here to bring them over. It is suspected that she is coming to try again to bring about the marriage of her brother with the Queen.'

July 9, 1565. 'I have advised that a sister of the King of Sweden had sent to this Queen to ask her to send her a vessel to bring her over from Embden on a visit to this country. They have sent her two well-fitted ships, one large and the other small. Some people still think she is coming to treat of a marriage between her brother and the Queen.'

Aug. 20, 1565. 'The King of Sweden's sister, as I have advised your Majesty, is to come hither not, as arranged, from Embden, but it is believed by way of Antwerp.'

Aug. 27, 1565. 'Some of the servants of the King of Sweden's sister have arrived in the city, and liveries are being made for the rest who accompany her. She is expected every day, and, as I have said, she comes to treat for a marriage between her brother and this Queen.'

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Sept. 10, 1565. 'The sister of the King of Sweden has arrived at Dover. As I wrote in my last, they have sent to receive her, and have prepared the Earl of Bedford's house for her occupation, with hangings and beds belonging to the Queen. They say that she brings a good train with her.'

Sept. 17, 1565. 'On the 11th inst. the King of Sweden's sister entered London at two o'clock in the afternoon. She was dressed in a black velvet robe with a mantel of black cloth of silver, and wore on her head a golden crown. As this seemed to me a new style of dress, I venture to relate these trifles to your Majesty. She had with her six ladies dressed in crimson taffety, with mantles of the same. She was received at Dover by Lord and Lady Cobham, the latter of whom is mistress of the robes to the Queen. At Gravesend Hunsden, with six of the Queen's servants, awaited her, and at the water gate of the house where she was to stay she was met by the Countess of Sussex and her sister-in-law the wife of the Chancellor, and Secretary Cecil. On the 14th the Queen arrived from Windsor and descended at the lodgings of the Swedish Princess, who is called Cecilia. The latter received her Majesty at the door, where she embraced her warmly, and both went up to her apartments. After the Queen had passed some time with her in great enjoyment she returned home, and the next night—the 15th—the Princess was delivered of a son. The Queen came up to visit her in consequence of her condition.

'I had audience of the Queen yesterday. . . . After some talk respecting the coming of Cecilia, whom the Queen praised very much to me, both for her good looks and elegance and for the grace and facility with which she speaks English. . . .'

Oct. 1, 1565. 'Yesterday the son of the King of Sweden's sister was christened in the Palace chapel, the Queen being godmother and the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Duke of Norfolk godfathers. The ceremony was very grand, as your Majesty will see by an account which is enclosed herewith.'

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Oct. 8, 1565. 'I had audience yesterday, and found the Marquis of Baden in the presence chamber. He came to speak to me, and said before all those present that he was deeply bound to serve your Majesty, in whose employment he had already been, and from whom he had received much grace and favour, which he could never fail to acknowledge. I thanked him on your Majesty's behalf, and after having conferred with the Queen on the matter I have mentioned . . . she called the Earl of Leicester to her, showing him favour, as usual, and asked me, "Do you know this gentleman?" I answered that it was so long since I saw him that I might well have forgotten him. "What!" said the Queen, "is he so presumptuous that he fails to wait upon you every day?" We were talking thus for a time until the hour arrived for visiting the King of Sweden's sister, and the Queen asked me whether I would go. I answered that I would attend her. She went by water, and for a time only she and I were together in the cabin of her barge, until at length she called Heneage and spoke to him secretely and very closely, and afterwards told me that she was telling him that he must learn German. This was to lead me to infer that she was saying something to him about the Archduke.

'She approached the Swedish Princess with great professions of affection and embraces, and I then went up to speak to her. They remained standing for a time until a stool had been brought for me, and continued with small talk and professions of attachment to each other, and the Swede paid me some compliments saying how great was the obligation of herself and her husband towards your Majesty for the grace and favour you had shown him. This with much modesty and fair words, and with so gracious a manner, that her high breeding is very apparent.'

Oct. 22, 1565. 'On the 14th inst. Cecilia, the King of Sweden's sister, went to the ceremony, which is called here the Purification, and the child was confirmed. There were great rejoycings, and on the previous night she and her

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husband had sent to invite me to dine, which I did, and stayed to supper as well, because the Queen was coming. The Queen said many gracious words of praise of your Majesty for the succour which only you had sent to Malta, and said she had ordered processions and thanksgivings for the victory to be given all over the country, at one of which, to take place here, she intended to be present. Cecilia said she hoped to be fortunate enough on her return to Flanders to find your Majesty there and to pay her respects to you. She said she could desire nothing more in the world than to see your Majesty and humbly offer her good wishes, which was all she could do for so great a monarch, and if it were not considered a presumption she would write the same to your Majesty. I thanked her to the best of my ability, telling her that I apprehended from your Majesty's esteem for such persons that you would receive her letter with much pleasure, and assured her that it would be welcomed with such graciousness and gentleness as would prove that these qualities were born in your Majesty together with your grandeur.'

The King to Guzman de Silva.

Oct. 24, 1565. 'You did well to advise me of the arrival of the King of Sweden's sister, and you will inform me of anything else that happens in this particular.'

Guzman de Silva to the King.

Nov. 5, 1565. 'The Queen has had the King of Sweden's sister brought to the Palace, and still pays her great attention. They tell me she is not proposing her brother's marriage, but is doing her best to urge Leicester's suit with the Queen, praising him highly. This is, no doubt, because she thinks it pleases the Queen. I am keeping in with her, as I have written to your Majesty, in view of what may happen in the course of the constant changes in all things here.

. . . . . .

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'The King of Sweden's sister also writes as I have advised she wished to do. She told me such was her desire to serve your Majesty that she had asked her husband to reside in a portion of his territories adjoining Luxemburg, so as to be the nearer to your Majesty's dominions.'

Nov. 10, 1565. 'It appears that the sister of the King of Sweden is not pushing her brother's suit for the present, but rather favours that of Lord Robert, as I have written in the accompanying letter. It may be that she is doing this in order to wait for a better opportunity of treating for her brother, as she appears prudent and will bide her time.'

The Queen to Lord Cobham.[1]

BY THE QUEEN.

Right trusty and well beloved, we grete you well. Whereas the Lady Cecilia, sister of the King of Sweden, is like to arrive very shortly at Dover with the Marquis of Baden and her husband, for that we are advertised that she is coming by land from Emden to Dunkirk, where she should be arrived to yesterday. Because our mind is that both at her landing and also on her way to our city of London, she be as honourably used as is meet for such a personage; our will and pleasure is that you put yourself in order to repair unto Dover, as well accompanied as the time shall serve you, both of your own gentlemen and servants, and also of the gentlemen of Worship next dwelling about Canterbury and Dover, and within the Cinque Ports. Sending in the meantime some man of your own thither, that may with all speed advertise you of the said Lady's arrival, so you may be as our chief officer there ready to receive and bid her welcome in our name; and so conduct her as far as the boundery of your office doth extend. Seeing that the said lady and her husband and their train be used with all courtesy and friendly enter-

[1] (Domestic State Papers) August 26, 1565.

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tainment and furnished by the way of all such things as are mete and they shall have need of. And because our desire is to have her as honourably received as the shortness of time will suffer we have written so both to the Lord of Burgavenny and appointed him and the Lady his wife, accompanied with such ladies, wives and other gentlemen of Havre, to repair to such place where the jurisdiction of the Cinque Ports shall end and so to join with you and your company in the conducting of the said Lady Cecilia to Gravesend, where we have ordered to have others to receive her and conduct her to our city of London.

Preamble to a Patent, granted by Queen Elizabeth to the Marquis of Baden, for a Pension of 2,000 Crowns.

Nov. 23, 1565.

Whereas the noble Lady Cecilia, daughter of our good brother the King of Sveria, hath of mere love, born of long time towards us, induced her dear husband, Christopher, Marquis of Baden, to divert his journey which he had intended to have made from Sveria into ye land of Lundburg, where his house is, and to come with his said wife into this our realm of England, not without great troubles and perils, and, what is to be most considered, she was great with child which she desired to bring forth to the world in this Island, as (praised be God) she hath enriched our realm with a fine son, whom we have also, by our assistance, brought into the society of the Church by babtism ; wherefor we have received the said Lady accordingly, both to the desert of her marvellous love and to the sovreignty of her state (being the daughter and sister of the King of Sveria), into our company and in our loving familiarity ; intending so to entertain her with all good offices of love as this her honour which herein she hath done us doth well deserve.

And furthermore, considering she is pleased, to the great content of us both, to remain some longer time with us for the furtherance of our amity, although her husband, the

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Marquis, have necessary occasion to repair into Lungburg, Germany, to his territories there, for the order of his own causes; therefore, whereas he hath determined shortly to return hither to the Lady his wife, we have thought mete beside all other gratuities and offices of love which we think mete to be showed to the said Lady, in name of a token of our good will, for being content to divert his said journey at the desire of the lady his wife in respect of us, to give the fine and grant, and so by this patent we do give and grant eidem, &c. &c.

[The above is entirely in Lord Burleigh's hand, and is followed by a note to Roger Ascham, requesting him to turn it into Latin.]

Cecilia to Elizabeth.

March 19, 1566.

Most gracious and powerful Queen, and dearest cousin; we trust that your Majesty will not take it amiss that we approach you, not in our own person, but by legates and messengers, namely, the noblemen Sir Christopher Schrenck, Baron Tautenbürg, and M. Hockstein; and since they are unacquainted with the English tongue we have given them letters. For we are in poor health, and that, together with the intemperance of the weather, prevents our coming into the presence of your Majesty. Wherefore we earnestly pray that they may have access to your Majesty and may have a favourable hearing from you.

We do not doubt, most gracious and powerful Queen, that you remember how we once complained to your Majesty of wrongs done to us by certain of your subjects, who till now have gone unpunished, which fact has caused us great grief of mind. This grief has been further increased to-day by a great wrong done to us by Ephippiarus, who, not satisfied with any of the reasonable terms which the other creditors have accepted, has arrested and detained our Secretary, and has spread a false report about us through the whole city, that we are planning a secret departure from here; whereby

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he has not only roused against us others to whom we have pledged our faith for the payment of our debts, but has also sullied our good name, which we have always kept spotless.

And whereas your Majesty did most graciously promise to the most illustrious Prince Lord Christopher, Marquis of Baden, my well beloved husband, at his departure, to protect me until his return, we trust that the man who has done us this wrong will not escape unpunished, lest our own condition appear to be the same as that of a common person. Moreover by his instigation they have appointed a watch nightly, lest we secretly take flight.

May it please your Majesty graciously to call to mind our love towards you, and that we came into this kingdom for no other reason than to declare the same. Therefore we do not doubt that your Majesty will equally reciprocate our love and ward off from us every harm and kindly restore to us our Secretary out of arrest; and this kindness we will labour to deserve by our love towards you, whatever injuries we may receive. Given in your Majesty's Metropolis of London, the 19th day of March, 1566.

Your Majesty's faithful sister,

CECILIA.

To the Right Honourable the Lords and others of the Queen's Maj. Privy Council.

April 4th, 1566.

Most humbly beseach your Honourables your poor Orators, Richard Bramley, butcher; Rob. Audrey, poulterer; George Saltus, grocer; Davy George, baker; John Palmer, fishmonger; Nicholas Gomporte, brewer; citizens of London, and Richard Sherman, butterman, victuallers for the said City: That whereas they, for the provision and furniture of the Lady Cecilia her grace and her household of victual, are owing divers and sundry sums of money, the particulars whereof do severally appear hereunder written, which long before this time should have been by the Princess paid unto them; and furthermore (and it like your Honours) not with-

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standing the forbearance of their moneys return hitherto to their great hinderance and partly to some of their undoing, they understand that the said Lady hasteth to depart this country without satisfying any of them; yet hath she this present day answered by her officers, that she will either pay them or leave a pawn, but they dare not trust thereunto; she hath so often broken promise. In consideration whereof, and for as much as your poor Orators, as obedient subjects unto their Prince, could do no less for her Highness sake, than give her credit as they have done; seeing that her Majesty so princely did entertain her. That the rather it may please your honours in that respect, and for charities sake together, forthwith to take order how they shall be answered as to Justice and equity apperteyneth. Otherwise both they, their poor wives, children and families be utterly undone, and all others discouraged for ever occupying as they have done to them the like favour unto any stranger; and besides that your said poor Orators for part of the said debt which is as well the goods of other men as theirs; are like to have their bodies rot in prison. And they shall pray for your honourable preservation long to endure.

[Signed by the seven above named.]

Princess Cecilia to Sir William Cecil.

Apr^{l} 4th, 1566.

Here follows a list of the complaints made by us:

First: that the undermentioned persons basely and falsely complain that the most illustrious Princess, after contracting various debts, refuses payment, and is making preparations to leave the country. Their own words in English are as follows = 'They understand the said Lady hasteth to depart this country without satisfying any of them.'

Second: that they write that the most illustrious Princess has answered through her officers that her highness will either pay them the money, or will leave them jewelry as a security. But they say that they will not trust this promise of her

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Highness, as she has so often failed them. Their own words ran thus: 'Yet hath she this present day answered by her officers that she will either pay them or leave a pawn; but they cannot trust thereunto, she hath so often broken promise.' What these words mean and the insinuation they contain even a child could understand. They need no far-fetched interpretation, they are written and worded plainly enough; and those who have dared to write such things against so great a Princess, deserve rather a punishment than a reply.

The third point is = ; that the undermentioned being asked by Sir Chris: Schrenk, baron of Tautenburgk why they had spread these noxious reports about her Highness secret departure and furthermore, to confirm them, had employed ships about the gate, have answered through a tallow merchant, who speaks the German language so as to be able to understand us easily; that they had spread no reports of a secret departure, but as regards the guard, they acknowledged having put it there. This was said in the presence of the Lord Baron, whose testimony in this case no one would presume to suspect; besides two others William Tindal and Thomas Sympson declare that they heard the same words: thus they can be examined.

Moreover on the same day, 19th March, Bromley, butcher, not content with their seditious and importunate outcries, came to the door of the room in which her most illustrious Highness was still reposing, and with shouts and unmannerly oaths, in the hearing of many, amongst others the Lady Wilhelm[ina], raged so much against her Highness and her Officers and was so unseemly that her Highness had openly to complain of his insolence. On the other things which happened at the same time, such as the undermentioned men standing in the middle of the gate and threatening the officers of her Highness, we will not dwell more fully, lest we should seem to do so from malice.

Lastly: Her most illustrious Highness calls to mind the action of Ephippiarius, who caused (with great dishonour) the

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imprisonment of her Highness' secretary, when he was discharging her Highness business in the town. And although she understands that the Secretary has forgiven him, yet as she feels that what was done to his person was done to her, and moreover she understands the report thereof has spread to foreign nations, her Highness feels it would reflect great disgrace and infamy on her Consellors, if a man of his class be seen to act thus with impunity.

Now that these things are known to you and since it is your duty to see that so great a Princess has no cause for complaint against her Majesty's subjects, and as you are now acquainted with the enormity of the deeds, her Highness leaves it to you to proclaim publicly their offence and punish accordingly those who have written or caused to be written such things. Thus we do not doubt that if you act thus, her Highness will proclaim to everybody your severity against the delinquents, and will in her turn vouchsafe to hold in grateful remembrance the trouble you have taken on her behalf.

Finally, her Highness begs you to direct your answer to her Counsellors.

The names of those who signed the petition are these:

. . . . . .

John Dudley to his Master, the Earl of Leicester.

The Court: March 31, 1566.

As Mr. Tamworth is coming up, I will leave all those matters to him, and will only trouble you with what has happened to the Marquis of Baden, Lady Cecilia's husband. Being at Calais a long time, attending for his lady, when he saw his time, understanding what his creditors had done here at Court for the recovery of their money (and which she still excused herself from paying, as she was under covert baron and could not be compelled to pay his debts), he ventured to come over to her, disguised as a mean man with his beard cut, and came to Arundel House, where she lay, and there has been the most part of this week, and so meant to return

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without offering to see her Majesty or any man; taking post horse as secretely as might be, he was known by his merchant creditors, and arrested upon one action for 5,000*l.* at Rochester last night at 10 P.M.; but her Majesty has sent, for his relief and comfort, Mr. Ralph Lane. I hear secretely that nothing was done to his stay, but by advice of some of the best councillors.

To the Right Honourable the Lords and others of the Queen's Majesty's Most Honourable Privy Council.

In this humble manner prayeth and beseacheth your honours, your orator and supplicant Edward Browne, Mayor of the City of Rochester; that whereas the hon: Christopher, Marquis of Baden, is now prisoner under arrest, within the said city, at the suite of divers of the Queen's subjects, citizens of the city of London and others, for divers sums of money; and whereas the Queen's Majesty hath directed her grace privie seal to your said orator, for the good and honourable usage of the said Marquis, and also for the safe keeping of the same Marquis in way of Justice upon any lawful suite commenced against him; May it please your honours to be advised that the said Marquis is a prisoner under lawful arrest to divers accounts commenced against him in dire form of law, and notwithstanding hath been and is kept and used honourably according to his estate, and so might have been ever sithen his first arrest (if his pleasure had been to have accepted the same and such provision as your Orator would gladly have provided, after that he knew what manner of personage he was. But so it is right hon: that the Queen's Majesty hath directed her most gracious writ of Habeas Corpus to your said Orator, whereby he is strictly commanded to keep the body of the said Marquis in safety; so that he may have his body with the caust of his detaining before her Grace in her bench at Wosted, in the first day of Easter term, and that the said Marquis hath by the encouragement of the Queen's Majes: writ of privy seal taken to himself such

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liberty as he will not suffer your orator, being the Queen's Majestys leutenant, nor any other of her Graces officers within the said city to approach or come near to him. But in contemptuous manner willeth them to avoid from him, he having and keeping dagge[1] charged with pellette and other weopons defensive about him, to the great peril of your orator and other of the Queen's Maj: officers here. By reason whereof the said Marquis is very like to escape from your said orator, which will be to his utter undoing. In tender consideration whereof and for as much as the Queens Maj: officers of the said city, that is to wit, the Sergeant at Mace and the Constable, are upon the sinister complaint of the said Marquis imprisoned or detained from your orator without just occasion, whereby your said orator is the less able to keep the said Marquis according to his due justice and law: May it therefor please your hon^{rs} (the premisses considered) to take such order that the said Marquis may be advertised from your honours that he must according to the laws of this realm submit himself to the custody of your orator and other of the Queen's Maj: officers of the said city in due and obedient order (being used honourably according to the Quens Majes: pleasure)—or that your said orator may be sufficiently discharged by order of law from the keeping of the said Marquis, and from all charge that may come to your orator by reason of the escape of the said Marquis; and your said orator shall daily pray to God for the preservation of your honours long to continue.

Daniel Hechstetter and Hans Lonner to Alderman Duckett.

Apr^{l} 23rd, 1566.

(EXTRACT FROM LETTER.)

That you have been so ill delt withall by the Marquis of Baden as that he hath departed the realm without making payment to you and others, that grieveth us not a little on your behalf; yet we hope he will remember him self better

[1] Pistols.

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towards you; although not with present payment, yet with good assurance. How be it we doubt it will be hard to bring him to it, for his investments is abroad eaten affore hand; we will for your sake understand better of his stock, and if you think it good, you may send us a copy authentic of your bill of debts, and we will travell for you as though the matter were our own. But to write you of any great comfort we cannot; we wish you had your money in your purse again without any interest. At our coming you shall understand further of this, as much as we are able to inform you.

Guzman de Silva to King Philip.

March 18, 1566. 'I gave your Majesty's reply to Cecilia, the sister of the King of Sweden, with such assurances as I thought fitting. She showed great joy and pleasure that your Majesty should have so graciously written to her, and replied with consideration, humility and gratitude, as was due at the favour your Majesty had shown her. She said she would advise her brother of it, so that if occasion ever offered he might show his gratitude to your Majesty. She is leaving. The Queen has treated her stingily after having written many letters to her inviting her to come, which Cecilia said she would show me. This was at the time that they said the King, her brother, was in treaty to marry a daughter of the Duchess of Lorraine, and after her arrival the Queen urged her to persuade her brother to come hither. It is therefore clear that she wished to treat of marriage with him again, so that the Archduke was not the only one. The Queen would like every one to be in love with her, but I doubt whether she will ever be in love with any one enough to marry him.

Cecilia requested the Queen, on behalf of her brother, that she would help him with two ships against Denmark, and permit him to send hither a quantity of gold and silver every year to be coined and laid out in goods in this country for Sweden, paying no more duty than that paid by English

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merchants here. To the first request the Queen replied that her friendship and alliance to the King of Denmark would not allow her to do it; and to the second she said that the loss which would be caused to her own kingdom and subjects would be so great that she must refuse.'

April 6, 1566. 'As the sister of the King of Sweden was about leaving and was arranging for payment of certain debts she had incurred here, the Margrave her husband, who was awaiting her in Calais, heard that she was unwell, and came secretly to visit her. After having been with her a few hours he returned, and on his way back, at Rochester, was arrested by creditors, and taken to the public gaol. When his wife heard this she complained to the Queen, who said she did not know anything of his detention, and begged the Margrave to return to Court to receive satisfaction, which he refused to do. He was imprisoned on the 30th ultimo, and the Queen sent a gentleman to take him out of prison, and lodge him in a house where he now remains. They pay no respect to any one here.'

April 18, 1566 'The Margrave of Baden is in Calais, and Cecilia, his wife, tells me she thought of leaving on the 19th instant, although the Queen says she is not going till the 22nd. They are leaving dissatisfied.'

April 29, 1566. 'I wrote to your Majesty that the Margrave of Baden had come over from Calais in disguise to visit his wife, and on his return had been taken for debt at Rochester and lodged in prison. Cecilia spoke to the Queen about it and promised not to leave the country until she had settled her own and her husband's debts. He was thereupon liberated, but refused to return to the Court. Cecilia has had great trouble to get clear, as I understand they owed more than 15,000 crowns, and they have made her give pledges for the payment of much greater value, even her dresses, and notwithstanding this she would have been in

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still greater trouble if she had not been helped. I have done all I could for her and she is grateful, but is not very well satisfied with the Queen, who, although she received her well and even helped her with money, did not do so either graciously or promptly. She left on the 27th, glad enough to get out of this country. She has exhibited spirit and courage in her troubles, which have not been light.

After she had finished at Greenwich, on the same day that she had to leave, she returned hither and sent to say that she had done so in order to see me before she went. I at once went to visit her, and after she had told me what she had done in her affairs she at once departed for Greenwich again and left at ten o'clock the same day. She espoused the cause of the Earl of Leicester when she was here, but he helped her little in her hour of need. The English convinced her that they have not much gratitude.'

London.

Cecilia to Elizabeth.

April 29, 1566.

Most gracious Lady and well beloved cousin, we have arranged to cross to-day, the wind being favourable. We give thanks to your Majesty for all favours shown to us, and we will strive ever to be worthy the same. Furthermore we render thanks to your Majesty for our safe conduct to the harbour, and for the magnificent body of men appointed by your Majesty, whose presence most brilliantly adorned our company and who performed their duties so well that we had nothing left to wish for. Concerning the journey we will write later on to your Majesty; meanwhile, commending us and ours to you, we desire to take our leave; praying lastly that your most gracious Majesty may vouchsafe to hold commended in our name your noble and faithful subject N. Boyer, and to bestow on him some post in your Majesty's Court.

Given at Dover: April 29, 1566.

Your good and faithful Sister,

CECILIA.

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Guzman de Silva to King Philip.

Nov. 25, 1566. 'I have received letters from Cecilia, sister to the King of Sweden, and the Margrave of Baden, her husband, on certain private business they left with me here, and enclosing a letter to your Majesty. They offer service in case it should be necessary in Flanders. I reply fairly, both in view of eventualities and because they are such near neighbours to the States, although I believe the Margrave is not a Catholic, as his elder brother is, nor even so good a courtier as he might be, as his letter shows. He means well apparently, however, which is the thing to be considered in Germany.'

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REPORT OF THE COUNCIL.

SESSION 1896–97.

THE Council of the Royal Historical Society present their Annual Report to the General Meeting of the Fellows.

The President delivered his Annual Address on February 18.

The following Papers and Communications were read and discussed at the Ordinary Meetings of the Society during the past Session :—

'Presidential Address.' By the Right Hon. Sir Mountstuart E Grant Duff, G.C.S.I., President.

'A Proposal for a New Historical Bibliography.' By Frederic Harrison, M.A.

'The École des Chartes and English Records.' By Professor F. York Powell.

'Some Survivors of the Armada in Ireland.' By Major Martin A. S. Hume.

'Elizabethan Village Surveys.' By W. J. Corbett, M.A.

'On Some Political Theories of the Early Jesuits.' By J. Neville Figgis, M.A.

'A Narrative of the Pursuit of English Refugees in Germany under Queen Mary.' By I. S. Leadam, M.A.

'The Conference of Pillnitz.' By Oscar Browning, M.A., Vice-President.

'Goree: a Lost Possession of England.' By Walter Frewen Lord.

'An Original Order of Battle, 1710, of Marlboro's Campaign in Flanders.' By J. Foster Palmer, M.R.C.S., L.C.P., F.R.Hist.S.

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Most of these have been printed in Volume XI. of the *Transactions* of the Society.

The Council, having resolved, on the occasion of the celebration of the 60th anniversary of the accession of Her Gracious Majesty Queen Victoria, to present to Her Majesty a loyal Address on behalf of the Society, an appropriate Address was accordingly prepared under the President's direction, which was signed by him, and was presented to Her Majesty through the Secretary of State for the Home Department.

A photographic illustration of the face of the Address is prefixed as a frontispiece to Volume XI. of the *Transactions*. The original was illuminated from a mediæval model, and was sumptuously bound in embossed leather in quarto form.

A proposal for an Amalgamation of the Camden Society with the Royal Historical Society having been under the consideration of the Council since the date of their last Report, a Select Committee of the Council was appointed on behalf of the Royal Historical Society to discuss the terms of the proposed Amalgamation with a Select Committee of the Council of the Camden Society. As a result of their deliberations, certain terms were arranged which appeared to be highly favourable to the respective interests of the members of the two Societies. The terms in question were communicated to the Fellows at a Special Meeting of the Society convened for this purpose as well as to amend the Bye-laws of the Society in accordance with the conditions of the Society's Charter, and Resolutions embodying the terms of Amalgamation and amendments of the Bye-laws were passed unanimously. The Amalgamation accordingly took effect from the 2nd day of May, 1897, the existing members of the Camden Society being elected Fellows of the Royal Historical Society.

The Council have every reason to expect that the number of Publications issued to the Fellows will be largely augmented as a consequence of this Amalgamation.

The new Publication Committee of the Council have already

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received a number of proposals for future Publications, and amongst those selected are the following:—

1. 'The Arch Priest Controversy.' Vol. II. Documents relating to the Dissensions of the Roman Catholic Clergy, 1597–1602. Edited by T. G. Law.

2. 'The State Trials of 1289–90.' Edited, from the unpublished Records, by Professor T. F. Tout.

3. 'A Narrative of Political Events, 1765–1767, by the Duke of Newcastle.' Edited by Miss Mary Bateson.

4. 'The Clarke Papers.' Vol. III. Edited by C. H. Firth, M.A.

   (Correspondence relating to General Monk preserved at Worcester College, Oxford, &c.)

5. 'The Correspondence of Sir Edward Nicholas, Secretary of State, and of his Son, Sir John Nicholas, Clerk to the Privy Council.' Vol. IV. Edited by George F. Warner, M.A.

6. 'The Second Coalition against Napoleon, 1798–1801.' Edited, from the Foreign Correspondence, by J. W. Headlam, M.A.

7. 'The Cely Papers: a Correspondence between Merchants of the Staple in London and Calais, 1477–1487.' Edited by Hubert Hall, F.S.A.

8. 'The Secret Service Expenditure of George the Third, 1770–1782.' Edited by B. F. Stevens.

9. 'Henry Elsing's Notes of Proceedings in the House of Lords during the Parliament of 1628, from the original MSS. in the possession of Colonel Carew, of Crowcombe Court, Somerset.' Edited by S. R. Gardiner, LL.D.

10. 'Selections from the Despatches of Alvise Valaresso, Venetian Ambassador in England in the years 1623 and 1624.' Translated and edited by S. R. Gardiner, LL.D.

11. 'Petitions in the Reign of Charles I.' Edited from the Carew MSS. by S. R. Gardiner, LL.D.

Of the above works it is hoped that arrangements will be made for the publication in the year 1898 of at least two of the volumes which are to be edited by Mr. T. G. Law, Miss Bateson, and Professor Tout.

In addition to Volume XI. of the *Transactions*, the following

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volumes of Publications have been issued to the Fellows since the date of the last Report :—

'The Domesday of Inclosures, 1517.' Edited by I. S. Leadam, M.A. Vols. I. and II.

'The Arch Priest Controversy.' Vol. I. Edited by T. G. Law (Camden Society).

'The Nicholas Papers.' Vol. III. Edited by G. F. Warner, M.A., F.S.A. (Camden Society).

The Index of Archæological Papers and other Publications of the Congress of Archæological Societies has again been distributed to the Fellows with the *Transactions*.

Mr. L. C. Alexander, a Fellow of the Society, having generously provided a sum of about £100 as an endowment for a medal to be awarded at the discretion of the Council for the encouragement of historical research, the Council, upon the report of a Select Committee, have resolved that the Alexander Medal for the Session 1897–8 shall be awarded to the author or editor who has produced some historical work of sterling value published in Great Britain or Ireland in the course of the two years ending December 31, 1897, including books, pamphlets, or articles and works printed for the use of Societies.

The Librarian reports that 482 books and pamphlets have been added to the Library during the year ended October 31, 1897, bringing the number of the books in the Library up to 3,835 volumes. Of the additions, 14 volumes were acquired by purchase, and of the rest 330 volumes were presented by the President.

The Council append to their Report the Treasurer's statement of the financial position of the Society from November 1, 1896, to October 31, 1897.

They also append the Bye-laws of the Society as amended, a Prospectus of the Objects of the Society, a Catalogue of Publications, and other information.

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Treasurer's Report, October 31, 1897.

The Treasurer presents his Balance Sheet for the past year, and reports that the income of the Society has been £486. 11*s.* from Subscriptions, £42 from Life Compositions, £61. 6*s.* 1*d.* from Sales of *Transactions*, &c., and £2. 17*s.* 3*d.* from dividends on account of the Alexander Medal Trust Fund which, with the balance brought forward from last year, £308. 4*s.* 3*d.*, gives a gross total of £900. 18*s.* 7*d.* The expenditure has been heavier than usual through the production of Mr. Leadam's two volumes, amounting to £882. 13*s.* 10*d.*, leaving a balance in favour of the Society of £18. 4*s.* 9*d.*

The Reserve Fund amounts to £478. 3*s.*

The Subscriptions in arrear are, one guinea Subscriber for 1893, one for 1894, one for 1895, five for 1896, and twenty-nine for 1897. Of the two-guinea Subscribers in arrear there are one for 1894, seven for 1895, eighteen for 1896, and forty-eight for 1897, representing a total of £194. 5*s.*

There are 188 Fellows paying two guineas, 117 paying one guinea, 189 paying one pound, 108 life and honorary, making a total of 602 Fellows and Subscribing Libraries at present in the Society.

R. Hovenden.

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BALANCE SHEET

For the year ending October 31, 1897.

Oct. 31, 1896, to Oct. 31, 1897.	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
To Balance brought forward	308	4	3	By Indexing	23	10	0
,, Subscriptions 2 at One Guinea, 1895	2	2	0	,, Societies' Subscriptions	11	11	0
,, ,, 7 ,, ,, 1896	7	7	0	,, Transcribing	1	0	10
,, ,, 97 ,, ,, 1897	101	17	0	,, Printing and Stationery	564	7	5
,, ,, 1 ,, ,, 1898	1	1	0	,, Salaries	163	17	6
,, ,, 1 at Two ,, 1894	2	2	0	,, Carriage, Postages, and Petty Expenses	31	18	7
,, ,, 1 ,, ,, 1895	2	2	0	,, Life Subscriptions, ¾ of invested	28	0	0
,, ,, 14 ,, ,, 1896	29	8	0	,, Advertising	7	10	6
,, ,, 142 ,, ,, 1897	298	4	0	,, Editors	34	13	0
,, ,, 3 ,, ,, 1898	6	6	0	,, Fees for Meetings	7	5	0
,, ,, 34 Camden at £1	34	0	0	,, Address on the Queen's Jubilee	9	0	0
,, ,, 2 ,, £1. 1s.	2	2	0		882	13	10
,, Two Life Compositions	42	0	0				
,, Sales of *Transactions*, &c.	61	6	1				
	589	17	1				
Alexander Medal Trust Fund :—				October 31, 1897.			
To Coupons for 9 Months' Interest less P. Tax	2	17	3	To Balance at L. & S.W. Bank	18	4	9
	£900	18	7		£900	18	7

CAPITAL OR RESERVE FUND ACCOUNT.

Oct. 31, 1896, to Oct. 31, 1897.	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
To Balance brought forward	440	4	4	By £300 2¾ % Consols	304	11	0
,, Dividends on £300 2¾ % Consols	7	19	8	,, Deposit at London and South Western Bank, Limited	171	3	1
,, ¾ of Two Life Compositions	28	0	0	,, Accrued Interest to September 30, 1897	2	8	11
,, Interest on Deposit Account to September 30 ,1897	1	19	0				
	£478	3	0		£478	3	0

R. HOVENDEN, *Treasurer.*

We have compared the entries in the books with the vouchers from November 1, 1896, to October 31, 1897, and find them correct, showing the receipts (including £308. 4*s.* 3*d.* brought forward) to have been £900. 18*s.* 7*d.*, and the expenditure to have been £882. 13*s.* 10*d.*, leaving a balance of £18. 4*s.* 9*d.* in favour of the Society.

R. DUPPA LLOYD,
J. FOSTER PALMER,
B. F. STEVENS,
} *Auditors.*

December 1897.

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APPENDIX

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Royal Historical Society.

(INCORPORATED BY ROYAL CHARTER.)

PATRON:
HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN.

PRESIDENT:
THE RIGHT HON. SIR M. E. GRANT DUFF, G.C.S.I.

I. The Historical Society was founded in 1868, by the then Archbishop of York, the late Earl Russell, the late George Grote, the late Dean of Westminster, Sir John Lubbock, Bart., the Earl of Selborne (then Sir Roundell Palmer), and other eminent men of the day, its main objects being to promote and foster the study of History, by assisting in the publication of rare and valuable documents, and by the publication from time to time of volumes of Transactions and Publications.

II. In 1872 the Society, through the Secretary of State (The Right Hon. H. A. Bruce, now Lord Aberdare, G.C.B., for many years President of the Society), received the official permission of Her Majesty the Queen to adopt the title Royal Historical Society; and in 1889 Her Majesty was pleased to cause Letters Patent, dated July 31, to be passed under the Great Seal, granting to the Society Her Majesty's Royal Charter of Incorporation. On May 2, 1897, the Camden Society was amalgamated with the Royal Historical Society, and the Camden Series of Publications was transferred to the latter Society.

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III. The Society consists of a President, Fellows, and Honorary Fellows and Corresponding Members, forming together a body, at the present time, of nearly seven hundred Members. The principal States of Europe and America, British India, and the Colonies are represented by Honorary or Corresponding Fellows.

IV. The Annual Subscription to the Society is *Two Guineas;* and at present there is no entrance fee. Fellows may, on joining the Society, or afterwards, compound for all future subscriptions upon the payment of *Twenty Guineas.* Libraries are admitted to the Membership of the Society for the purpose of receiving its publications on payment of an annual subscription of *One Pound.*

V. The Fellows of the Society receive gratuitously a copy of each of the Society's Transactions and Publications during the period of their subscription.

The annual Publications of the Society will, in future, include a volume of Transactions containing selected Papers read at the Society's Evening Meetings, together with the most valuable of the original documents which may be communicated to the Society from time to time by historical scholars. In addition to this, the Council are hopeful of being able to ensure the regular production of a uniform series of Publications in the style of the Camden Series of Publications, at the rate, if possible, of two volumes in every year.

VI. Ordinary Meetings of the Society for the reading of Papers and discussions thereon are held from November to June, on the *third* Thursday in each month, at 5 P.M. The Anniversary Meeting is held on the third Thursday in February, when the President delivers his Annual Address.

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VII. The Library of the Society is deposited at 115 St. Martin's Lane, W.C. Donations of Historical books and documents will be received and acknowledged by the Librarian. All parcels should be marked "Royal Historical Society." It is hoped that all Fellows of the Society who publish Historical works will present copies to the Library.

VIII. The Royal Historical Society, being incorporated, is now in a position to receive and benefit by legacies. The means of usefulness of many corporations has been largely increased by the bequests of its members; and it is hoped that the income of the Society may eventually be supplemented from this source.

IX. All literary communications, proposals for Papers to be read before the Society, or Historical documents or relics to be exhibited at the ordinary Meetings, should be addressed to the Director,

HUBERT HALL, F.S.A.
60 Chancery Lane, London, W.C.

All communications respecting the Library should be addressed to the Librarian,

THOMAS MASON, F.R. Hist. S.
115 St. Martin's Lane, London, W.C.

All subscriptions, unless paid by Banker's Order, should be sent to the Treasurer,

R. HOVENDEN, F.S.A.
Heathcote,
Park Hill Road,
Croydon, Surrey.

Communications on all other subjects should be addressed to the Hon. Secretary,

115 St. Martin's Lane, London, W.C.

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No. I.

FORM OF A CANDIDATE'S CERTIFICATE.

Certificate of Candidate for Election.

Name, ...

Title, Profession, or Occupation, ...

Residence, ...

being desirous of admission into the ROYAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY, we the undersigned recommend him as a fit and proper person to be admitted as a Fellow.

Dated this .....day of.....189.....

.....*F.R. Hist. Soc.* { *From personal knowledge.*

.....*F.R. Hist. Soc.*
.....*F.R. Hist. Soc.* } *From general knowledge.*

Proposed.....189

Elected.....189.....

Copies of this Form may be obtained on application to MR. THOMAS MASON, 115 *St. Martin's Lane, W.C.*

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No. II.

A VOTE by ballot, when necessary, shall be conducted in the usual manner, and the Secretary shall cause Voting Papers to be prepared for that purpose in the following form :—

VOTING PAPER.

Election held ..... **18**.....

Candidates for the office of President:	1.	.....
	2.	.....
Vice-President:	1.	.....
	2.	.....
	3.	.....
For the Council:	**Retiring Members who offer themselves for re-election:**	
	1.	.....
	2.	.....
	3.	.....
	4.	.....
	Candidates nominated under Rule V.:	
	5.	.....
	6.	.....
	7.	.....
	8.	.....

Fellows shall record their votes by putting a cross against the names of the Candidates in whose favour they wish to vote. If any Fellow shall record his vote for more Candidates than there are vacancies, his Voting Paper shall be void.

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No. III.

FORM OF LEGACY.

I give and bequeath unto the ROYAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY the sum of £ such legacy to be paid out of such part of my personal estate, not specifically bequeathed, as the law permits to be appropriated by will to such a purpose.

Note.—Gifts may be made by will of stock in the public funds, shares or debentures of railway or other joint-stock companies, or money be paid out of the testator's pure personal estate, or of personal chattels.

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CHARTER OF INCORPORATION

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CHARTER OF INCORPORATION

OF THE

ROYAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Victoria, BY THE GRACE OF GOD, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, Queen, Defender of the Faith, TO ALL TO WHOM these Presents shall come, Greeting;

WHEREAS Our right trusty and well beloved Councillor, Henry Austin, Baron Aberdare, Knight Grand Cross of Our most Honourable Order of the Bath, Fellow of the Royal Society, has by his Petition humbly represented unto Us, That in the year one thousand eight hundred and sixty-eight, His Grace the Archbishop of York, the late Right Honourable John, Earl Russell, K.G., F.R.S., the late Very Reverend the Dean of Westminster, Sir John Lubbock, Baronet, the late Sir John Bowring, LL.D., Sir Roundell Palmer, Q.C., M.P., D.C.L., now Earl of Selborne, the late George Grote, Esquire, F.R.S., and others of Our subjects formed themselves into a Society known as the Historical Society of Great Britain, having for its object the promotion of the study of History;

AND WHEREAS We were pleased in the year one thousand eight hundred and seventy-two to permit the said Society to adopt the name and title of the Royal Historical Society;

AND WHEREAS in the year one thousand eight hundred and eighty-seven We were pleased to become Patron of the said Royal Historical Society;

AND WHEREAS it has been represented to Us by the said Petitioner that the said Society has been and continues to be actively employed in promoting the object for which the said Society was founded, and has published thirteen volumes of Transactions containing original memoirs read before the Society, and did also in the year one thousand eight hundred and eighty-six appoint a Com-

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mittee for the due celebration of the eight hundredth anniversary of the completion of the Domesday Book of His late Majesty William the First, by which Committee meetings for the reading of papers and exhibitions of Domesday Book and other manuscripts were held, and the papers read at the meetings have been published under the title of Domesday Studies, of which We have been pleased to accept the dedication, and the said Society has also published the despatches from Paris in one thousand eight hundred and two-one thousand eight hundred and three of Lord Whitworth, Ambassador of His late Majesty King George III ;

AND WHEREAS the said Society has in aid of its objects collected a Library to which additions are constantly being made, and other property ;

AND WHEREAS the said Petitioner, believing that the well-being and usefulness of the said Society would be materially promoted by its obtaining a Charter of Incorporation, hath therefore, on behalf of himself and the other Fellows of the said Society, most humbly prayed that We would be pleased to grant to those who now are, or who shall from time to time become Fellows of the said Society, Our Royal Charter of Incorporation ;

NOW KNOW YE that We, being desirous of encouraging a design so laudable and salutary, of Our especial grace, certain knowledge and mere motion, have granted, directed and declared, and by these Presents do grant, direct, and declare that the said Henry Austin, Baron Aberdare, and such others of Our loving subjects as now are Fellows of the said Royal Historical Society (hereinafter called the said Society), or as shall hereafter from time to time become under the provisions of these Presents Members of the Body Politic and Corporate by these Presents created, shall for ever hereafter be one Body Politic and Corporate by the name of the ROYAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY ; and for the purposes aforesaid, and by the name aforesaid, shall have perpetual succession and a Common Seal, with full power and authority to alter or vary, break and renew the same at their discretion, and by the same name to sue and be sued, implead and be impleaded, answer and be answered in every Court of Us, Our Heirs and Successors.

AND Our will and pleasure is, that the Royal Historical Society hereby created (hereinafter called the Corporation) may, notwithstanding the Statutes of Mortmain, take, purchase, hold and enjoy

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to them and their successors a hall or house, and such other lands, tenements, and hereditaments as may be necessary for carrying out the purposes of the Society, Provided that the yearly value of such lands, tenements, and hereditaments (including the said hall or house) computed at the yearly value of the same at the time of the respective purchases or acquisition thereof do not exceed in the whole the sum of Two thousand pounds sterling.

AND Our will and pleasure is, and We do hereby declare, That there shall always be a Council of the Corporation, and that the said Council shall consist of a President, not less than six Vice-Presidents, a Treasurer, a Secretary, and not less than fourteen Councillors, who shall be elected and retire in accordance with the Bye-laws for the time being of the Corporation, and that the present Council of the said Society shall be the first Council of the Corporation;

AND Our will and pleasure is, That the Council of the Corporation may from time to time make, revoke, alter, and amend bye-laws for all or any of the following purposes, to wit:—

(*a*) Prescribing the manner in which persons may become members of the Corporation and the conditions of membership, and the rights, powers, duties, privileges, and amotion of the members of the Corporation;

(*b*) Prescribing the tenure of office by the President, Vice-Presidents, Treasurer, Secretary, and Councillors of the Corporation (including those hereby appointed), and the mode of electing or appointing future Presidents, Vice-Presidents, Treasurers, Secretaries and Councillors, and the rights, powers, duties, privileges, and amotion of the first and future Presidents, Vice-Presidents, Treasurers, Secretaries, and Councillors;

(*c*) With respect to the appointments, emoluments, and tenure of office of the officers and servants of the Corporation;

(*d*) The election or appointment and amotion of honorary members or Fellows of the Corporation (who may, if the bye-laws so declare, be either Our subjects or foreigners, or both);

(*e*) The classes into which Members are to be admitted;

(*f*) Generally for regulating the affairs, property, business, and interests of the Corporation and its Council and Members, and making, revoking, altering, and amending bye-laws and carrying out the objects of these Presents;

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Provided that such bye-laws shall not be valid unless and until they have been approved by a clear majority of the members of the Corporation present at a meeting specially summoned for the purpose, and Provided also that if any bye-law be contrary to the objects of the Corporation, or the intent or meaning of this Our Charter, or the laws or statutes of Our Realm, the same shall be absolutely null and void.

WE do further direct and declare that the existing bye-laws of the said Society shall (so far as they are applicable) apply to the Corporation, its Council, members, and affairs until bye-laws made under these Presents have come into force but no longer.

WE do further by these Presents declare that it is Our will and pleasure that these Presents may be repealed, altered, amended, or added to by any Charter granted by Us, Our Heirs and Successors, at any time hereafter, and accepted by a clear majority of the members of the Corporation present at a Meeting specially summoned for the purpose.

IN WITNESS whereof We have caused these Our Letters to be made Patent. WITNESS Ourself at Westminster, the thirtieth day of July, in the fifty-third year of Our Reign.

By Warrant under the Queen's Sign Manual,

MUIR MACKENZIE. L.S.

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BYE-LAWS

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THE BYE-LAWS

OF THE

ROYAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY

(Incorporated by Royal Charter).

I.—The Society shall consist of Ordinary, Corresponding, and Honorary Fellows. The number of Honorary Fellows shall not exceed Seventy-five; and of these not more than twenty-five shall be British subjects.

II.—The Council shall be chosen from the Ordinary Fellows, and shall consist of not less than twelve Vice-Presidents, a Secretary, a Treasurer, and not less than sixteen Fellows.

III.—The President shall be elected by the Fellows at the Anniversary Meeting, and shall hold office for a term of four years. The past Presidents shall be ex-officio Honorary Vice-Presidents of the Society.

IV.—The three Vice-Presidents senior on the roll, and the four Members of Council senior on the roll, shall retire annually, but shall be eligible for re-election.

V.—The names of Fellows to be submitted for election as Office-Bearers and Members of Council shall be proposed by the Council, and intimated to the Fellows at least Fifteen days before the Anniversary Meeting; but any ten Fellows of the Society may nominate

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Fellows to supply vacancies, such names being notified to the Secretary at least Ten days before the said Meeting. If there should be more than three Candidates for the office of Vice-President, or more than four Candidates to fill the vacancies in the Council, the elections shall take place by ballot, as provided in Appendix II.

VI.—The Council shall determine the Works, Articles, and Papers to be read at the Society's Meetings, and otherwise shall arrange the business of the Society; and nothing shall be published in the name of the Society, or under its auspices, or inserted in the Society's *Transactions* or other publications, without the authority of the Council.

VII.—The Society shall distribute gratuitously to each Ordinary Fellow a copy of the *Transactions* as the volumes are issued, these to be forwarded free of expense to all Fellows residing within the postal union.

VIII.—Fellows shall have access to the Society's Library under such regulations as may appear to the Council necessary.

IX.—Every person desirous of admission into the Society as an Ordinary Fellow must be proposed and recommended agreeably to the Form No. I. in the Appendix hereto, and such recommendation must be subscribed by two Fellows at least, one of whom must certify his personal knowledge of such candidate. The certificate thus filled up shall be delivered to the Secretary, and shall be communicated by him to the Council at their next meeting, when the election of such candidate may take place.

X.—Fellows shall be elected by the Council on the vote of two-thirds of the Members of Council present. The names of those so elected shall be announced at the next Ordinary Meeting of Fellows.

XI.—The Secretary shall send to every elected Fellow notice of his election within seven days thereafter. No election of an Ordinary Fellow shall be complete, neither shall his name be printed in the list of the Society, nor shall he be entitled to exercise any of the privileges of a Fellow, until he shall have paid

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his entrance fee and first year's contribution, or compounded for the same, as hereinafter provided; and unless these payments be made within three calendar months from the date of election, such election may be declared void by the Council.

XII.—Every Fellow of the Society shall furnish his Address, or that of his Agent or Banker, to the Secretary; and all notices or packets posted or sent to such address shall be held to be duly delivered.

XIII.—The Council shall be empowered to elect persons of distinction as Honorary Fellows, and also Corresponding Members, but these shall have no claim (unless on the usual annual payment) to receive the publications or vote at the Meetings of the Society. The Council shall also have power to elect in each year two persons eminent in historical studies, who shall have all the privileges of Life Fellows.

XIV.—If any Fellow of the Society or any Honorary Fellow shall so demean himself that it would be for the dishonour of the Society that he longer continue to be a Fellow thereof, the Council shall take the matter into consideration; and if the majority of the Members of the Council present at some meeting (of which and of the matter in hand such Fellow and every Member of the Council shall have due notice) shall decide by ballot to recommend that such Fellow be expelled from the Society, the Chairman shall at the next Ordinary Meeting announce to the Society the recommendation of the Council, and at the following Ordinary Meeting the question shall be decided by ballot, and if at least three-fourths of the number voting are in favour of the expulsion, the name of such Fellow shall forthwith be removed from the roll.

XV.—The Annual Subscription shall be Two Guineas, provided always that Fellows elected prior to the 1st of March, 1884, shall not be required to pay more than One Guinea annually, and Members of the Camden Society elected prior to the 1st March, 1895, the sum of One Pound annually. The entrance fee shall be fixed from time to time by the Council.

XVI.—Fellows of the Society may at any time compound for their annual subscription by the single payment of Twenty Guineas,

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of which Fourteen Pounds Sterling shall be placed to the Capital Account of the Society.

XVII.—No Fellow shall be entitled to exercise any of the privileges of the Society unless and until his subscriptions for the current and previous years have been paid.

XVIII.—All Annual Subscriptions, except the first, shall be due and payable on the 1st January, and any Fellow of the Society who shall fail to pay his subscription on or before the 1st of June shall be applied to in writing by the Secretary; and if the same be not paid on or before the 31st October following, the Council shall be empowered to remove his name from the roll, but such Fellows shall continue liable to the Society for the arrears of their subscriptions.

XIX.—The Meetings of the Society are of three kinds—Anniversary, Special, and Ordinary.

XX.—The Anniversary Meeting shall be held on the Third Thursday of February, or at such other time as the Council shall from time to time appoint. At the Anniversary Meeting the vacancies in the Council shall be filled up.

XXI.—The Council may at any time call a Special Meeting of the Society whenever it shall be considered necessary, and shall convene a Special Meeting of the Society on a requisition to that effect being made by twenty Fellows, the date of such Meeting being fixed within one month from the receipt of the requisition.

XXII.—A fortnight's notice, at least, of the time when, and the object for which, every Special Meeting is to be holden shall be sent to every Fellow residing in the United Kingdom; and no other business than that of which notice has been thus given shall be entered upon or discussed at such Meeting.

XXIII.—At every Special Meeting of the Society ten Fellows shall form a quorum.

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XXIV.—The Ordinary Meetings shall be held on the third Thursday of each month, from November to June inclusive in each year, or at such other times as the Council shall determine.

XXV.—At the Ordinary Meetings papers and communications shall be read and discussed; but nothing relating to the regulations or management of the Society shall be brought forward.

XXVI.—Visitors to the Ordinary Meetings may be admitted, if introduced personally by Fellows, or by their written order, under such regulations as the Council may determine.

XXVII.—In all Meetings of the Council five shall be a quorum, and all questions shall be decided by show of hands, unless a ballot be demanded.

XXVIII.—The Accounts of the Society shall be from time to time examined by the Council, who shall present, and cause to be read to the Anniversary Meeting a complete statement thereof, together with a report on the general affairs of the Society during the preceding year.

XXIX.—The Council shall appoint any persons they deem fit to be salaried officers or clerks, for carrying on the necessary concerns of the Society; and shall define the duties to be performed by them respectively, and shall allow to them respectively such salaries, gratuities, and privileges as the Council may deem proper; and may suspend or discharge any officer or clerk from office whenever there shall seem to them occasion for so doing.

XXX.—The Council shall elect their own Chairman and Vice-Chairman to preside over their Meetings, and in the absence of both any Member of Council present may be elected to preside.

XXXI.—In all Meetings of the Society and Council, except in the cases otherwise provided for, the decision of a majority of the Fellows voting shall be considered as the decision of the Meeting, the President or Chairman having a casting vote only.

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XXXII.—The Treasurer shall receive all moneys due to the Society, and on the order of the Council pay out of the moneys so received all charges on the Society's funds; he shall keep a proper account of his receipts and payments. All cheques or orders on the Treasurer or his banker for the payment of any sum of money above £2 shall be signed at a Meeting of the Council by three Members thereof, or by two Members with the counter signature of the Secretary for the time being.

XXXIII.—At the last Ordinary Meeting in each session, the Fellows shall choose two Auditors, not of the Council, who, with one Auditor appointed by the Council, shall audit the Treasurer's accounts, and report thereon to the Society, which report shall be presented to the Anniversary Meeting.

XXXIV.—On a vacancy occurring in the office of President or other office of the Society, or in the Council, the Council shall have power to supply such vacancy until the following Anniversary Meeting.

XXXV.—Any Fellow of the Society who proposes to read a Paper at any Ordinary Meeting shall submit it for the approval of the Council, and shall state in writing whether such Paper has, in whole or in part, been previously read to any other Society, or publicly utilised in any form; but it shall rest with the Council to determine whether a Paper shall be read or utilised by the Society.

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